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Tui Vakano to become a Christian was deprived of his title (*liukava* or *liua*, to debase, to dethrone, to depose) by his outraged constituents—a procedure which suggests the Samoan practice. There probably were normally no assemblages (*fono*) in which the people expressed opinions. In ancient *fono*, as in the modern *fono*, the people gathered to hear the orders of the chiefs, not to debate.

The idea prevails that a chief is normally a large, portly person. On one occasion my interpreter remarked, "Can't you see he is a chief? See how big he is."

This observation corroborates Wilson (65, pp. 384, lxix):

> In their persons, the men of the superior rank all seem a larger race than ourselves, or the common people . . . . at Tongataboo more muscular, and affecting a more stately gait and superiority. . . . At Tongataboo some [women] were held in highest reverence, and Futtafaihe himself paid one elderly woman the same expression of homage which he received from every other chieftain.
>
> The submission paid to the chiefs, and the distinction of private property were much greater here than at Otaheite.
>
> At Tongataboo, the chiefs, to secure plenty, changed their abodes to other islands (65, p. 385).

Chiefs had many prerogatives. Special bathing holes, many of them wells which required many men to dig, were reserved for the chiefs, though occasionally a chief would allow certain of his retainers to use a bathing well. A few wells, far from the establishment of the chiefs, were permitted to commoners for bathing and drinking water. Should a commoner bathe in a chief's well on the sly, it was believed that he would become ill and die either from the swelling of his abdomen or of his neck. Women had special bathing places set aside for them. On Lifuka, Haapai, the beach on the lee (western) side of the island was tapu to commoners for bathing. Five wells—Utulupe, Vailupesia, Hoaheu, Teleki, and Onemato—all the property and bathing places of former chiefs, have been described elsewhere (25). It is related that at the well called Hoaheu the bathing chiefs were entertained by gladiatorial combats in which two commoners with clubs fought until one was killed. It was at one of these wells, Onemato, that Mariner's patron, Finau, bathed when on his way to visit his brother Tupouniua.

Of food, the chiefs, of course, had the best. First fruits and the first of each catch of fish were brought to them. The milk of only small, quite ripe coconuts was used by chiefs; a retainer presenting a large coconut was liable to be knocked down or beaten. On occasions, such food as the hard Tahitian chestnut (*ifi*) was chewed to a pulp by an attendant before being given to the chief to eat.

Visitors of low rank brought a gift of kava, which was handed to the chief by his matapule. Failure to bring this gift resulted in a severe repri-

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mand. Kava was also brought as a peace offering. A high chief, who was coöperating with me in gathering data, left word for an old man to come to our temporary residence, distant four or five miles. The old man failing to come, a second messenger was sent with a threat of horsewhipping. Thereupon the old man came as speedily as his years permitted, bearing a large piece of kava. He was profuse in his apologies, saying that he did not know whom it was that had requested his appearance. I noticed that servants of this chief in approaching bent low and that if he was seated near the door of the house they would make their exit through a window rather than pass near him.

A general tapu is placed upon the dishes and the remains of food or drink of a person higher in rank. It was thought that one breaking this tapu would suffer from sore throat, but the person of rank might offset the evil consequences by stroking the throat of the unfortunate person with the hand (anciently also with the feet). This tapu which holds throughout Tongan society is particularly observed between a chief and his underlings. To eat in front of a chief is likewise forbidden, the difficulties being avoided by eating with the back turned to the chief (*kaitafoki*).

The head of a person, also the back, is tapu to one of lower rank; it is tapu to pass close behind a chief. At big kava parties a great chief who does not sit in the kava ring takes a position which makes passing behind him unnecessary.

The food of a chief had to be prepared in a certain style and certain portions of mammals or birds were regarded as belonging by special prerogative to the chief. A roast pig is presented to a chiefly person in the following manner: After the pig has been removed from the oven and placed on its back on the hand barrow, sections of fresh banana leaves tied in place by strips of banana leaf are wrapped about the extremities of the four legs, the nose, and the region of the rectum. The purpose of this treatment was said to be the concealing of all those parts of the pig most in contact with anything dirty or filthy. The four parts of a pig which are regarded as fit food for a chief are in order of importance: (a) the back (*tua*), (b) the head (*ulu*), (c) the rump (*tuungaiku*), (d) the chest (*fatafata*), spoken of as the common part.

In serving chickens and pigeons to chiefs, the parts in order of importance are: (a) the rump with the oil glands (*muimui*), (b) the skin of the neck and back (*kiliikia*), (c) the legs (*alanga*), (d) the wings and chest (*hikehika*). I saw the operation of dividing a fowl for a high chief. The oil glands and the bit of skin near the rump were given him first. Then the skin at the base of the skull was broken with the fingers and stripped down the back of the neck on to the back.

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is to be found in the story of Tui Tofua (*26*, p. 77), one version of which specifically states that the first-born sons were Tui Tofua's associates.

A chief's virgin daughter seems to have been called *taupoou*, a Samoan term which is probably equivalent to the Tongan *taahine*. Girls, classed as *taupoou*, at times took part in dances, sometimes leading, and usually wore finer garments than their dancing associates. The *taupoou* or *taahine* chewed and made kava for visiting high chiefs. She did no cooking, but might sweep the interior and the immediate exterior of the house. Orange juggling was one of her pastimes. There seems to have been no official *taupoou* as in Samoa.

The term *manaia* (a man particularly successful in love affairs) which in Samoa is applied to the chief's son, apparently is not used in Tonga as a title, though evidence is conflicting, but is used in personal names. If *manaia* and *taupoou* were recognized positions in Tonga, undoubtedly early writers would have mentioned them.

Among special names for girls of rank those referring to the *lupe* or large fruit pigeon (*Globicera pacifica*) were often used. Two examples of such names for chiefly girls are Lupefolau and Lupepauu.

Special care was taken of the complexion of girls of rank. The following processes were used: (a) *kaukautuitui*, the rubbing of the entire body with chewed candle nut (*tuitui*); (b) painting of entire body, excluding lips, with a mixture (*valienga*) of *lolo* oil and turmeric (*enga*). This was done twice a week on alternate weeks and after several hours was washed off, and the skin dressed with oil, to produce a smooth glistening surface; (c) keeping in shade to prevent sunburn.

After bathing a chief's daughter previous to her retiring, her female attendants chew scented fruits and flowers, and mixing the masticated material with scented oil rub it over her body.

A chief's daughter wore her hair long on every part of the head, and braided the side strands over the ears.

The female attendants upon the daughter of a chief did not allow her to eat too much. This tapu was enforced to prevent the overdevelopment of her abdominal region.

When a chief's daughter ate or sat in her house, she was surrounded by a mat screen and seated on a high cushion (*fakamolu*) composed of mats and soft tapa. The purpose of the soft cushion was to keep the skin of her upper legs and buttocks soft and smooth, unblemished by any hard thickness or marks that might result from sitting on a hard surface.

A treatment applied only to the daughters of high chiefs is called *fakatafa*. After an evening bath and oiling from head to feet, the girl's legs were tied together just above the knees with a piece of fine soft tapa, and she was

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Seketoa, who according to all versions belongs to the royal family of Niua, may well be a mere "invention" of one of the kings of Niua, framed for the purpose of deceiving his subjects and of forestalling any future revolt on their part against his family. The fear of displeasing Seketoa, the sea-god and ancestor of Maatu may have secured the latter's authority and prevented the natives tired of his domination from quitting the island in frail canoes in search of new lands.

Those who may feel satisfied with this explanation might confirm it by saying that elephantiasis and diseases of the skin prove that the punishment occasioned by the murder of Seketoa is always upon the population. That such diseases exist and are the plague of the country I know from experience. I remember a kava in which I took part in Niua, while I was there some years ago on a protracted visit. We sat nine in all. With the exception of the two girls that were preparing the drink, we were all afflicted with elephantiasis. I think, however, that the marshes of the island were rather a more efficient cause of it than Seketoa.

However that may be, and although I may be called a simpleton for it, I will add that those conjectures concerning Seketoa deserve no credit, though I am disposed to believe that in his manifestations there is something mysterious and disquieting. Such as have dwelt a certain number of years in our islands know how difficult it is to dislodge the devil from his haunts. Now, at the close of the last century, he was absolute master of Niua Toputapu. If he was forced to yield ground, he did so reluctantly; and at all events was careful to leave deceitful snares behind him. And what can his apparent help prove in the case I have related of the *lali* of our Catholics? Absolutely nothing, if not that all means are good enough for him, so long as he can induce souls into error and ravish from God some of the honor and confidence which are His due.

Once when Father Thomas, S. M.. was near Niuatoputapu, he saw Seketoa about his boat for more than two hours. He describes him as a large fish with changing colors. On another occasion Seketoa saved one of the members of the mission from drowning. Father Thomas, together with some natives, was proceeding on a raft which began to sink. When hope was lost, Seketoa appeared beneath the raft and buoyed it up until they reached shore safely.

The chief Maatu spoke of two rocks between Niuatoputapu and Samoa, called Fatukau and Fatukalapu, which were deified. They were the home of the god Fatuulu:

Fatuulu, in human form, used to come to Tafahi Island and give commands. His voice was heard to Niuatoputapu Island. A man who used to be his mouthpiece was named Toumaama, meaning "man near god (*tou*) spreader (of god's words)." He was the priest in the time of Ngongo (p. 285). There is a place on Tafahi to be seen now where Fatuulu stood. They never ate fish in Niuatoputapu until the god gave permission. If anyone ate before the god lifted the tapu that person died immediately on the first mouthful. This applied to all fish. Toumaama notified the people for the god. When the god came, Toumaama would tremble like a leaf, and would neither eat nor drink. The god came and went as he pleased. The tapu was put on or lifted as the god liked. The presence of the god is still evidenced by the fact that certain small fish (*kaloama*) immediately leave if proper form is not observed in catching them.

When the god appeared in the priest, he uttered commands as to killing of pigs. Thunder and lightning accompanied the god as he walked over the ocean. The priest then became possessed, for the god came and entered into the priest. The face of the priest was all illuminated, his eyes staring. The people would hide when the god

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was amusing himself on deck by firing off his musket*, he bade him try to bring that man down from aloft: without the least hesitation he levelled his piece, and instantly brought him down dead: the shot entered his body, and the fall broke both thighs and fractured his skull; upon which Finow laughed heartily, and seemed mightily pleased at the facility with which it was done. When Mr. Mariner understood the language, he asked the king how he could be so cruel as to kill the poor man for so trifling a fault: his majesty replied that he was only a low, vulgar fellow (a cook); and that neither his life nor death was of any consequence to society†.

On Tuesday, the 9th of December, it being spring-tides, the ship floated, and was warped in to low water mark. In the evening they set fire to her, in order to get more easily afterwards at the iron work. All the great guns on board were loaded, and as they began to be heated by the general conflagration they went off, one after another, producing a terrible panic among all the natives. Mr. Mariner was, at

* The Sandwich islanders are pretty well acquainted with the use of fire-arms: their chief had, at that time, 2000 stand of muskets, procured at different times from American ships.

† The lower orders are thought to have no souls, and a cook is considered the most vulgar profession among them; while a carpenter is esteemed the most respectable.

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some, because they liked this sort of diet, and by others because they wanted to try it, thinking it a manly and warlike habit: there was also another motive, viz. a great scarcity of provisions; for some canoes which had been sent to the Hapai islands in quest of provisions were unaccountably detained, and the garrison was already threatened with distress. Some of the prisoners were soon dispatched: their flesh was cut up into small portions, washed with sea-water, wrapped up in plantain leaves, and roasted under hot stones: two or three were embowelled and baked whole the same as a pig *. Mr. Mariner was not tempted to partake of this kind of diet, though the smell of it, when cooked, was exceedingly delicious. A few days now elapsed without any signs of the canoes from Hapai, and the distress of those who did not choose to eat human flesh was very great. Mr. Mariner had been two days and a half without eating any thing; when, passing by a house where they were cooking something, he walked in, with the pleasing hope of getting something that his stomach would bear, if it were only a piece of a rat; on enquiry, he was told, they had got some pork, and a man offered him a piece of liver, which he eagerly accepted, and

* For their different methods of cooking, reference must be made to the second volume of the work.

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lowers, and were dressed in a manner nearly similar, but not with quite so many mats. The lady and her five companions being all ready, proceeded to the *malâi* of Tooitonga, who was there, waiting for their arrival, together with a number of other chiefs, two matabooles sitting before him. The lady and her attendants being arrived, seated themselves on the green before Tooitonga. After the lapse of a little time a woman entered the circle with her face covered up with white *gnatoo;* she went into the house of the *malâi*, and proceeded towards the upper end, where there sat another woman in waiting with a large roll of *gnatoo*, a wooden pillow*, and a basket containing bottles of oil. The woman, whose face was veiled, took the *gnatoo* from the other, wrapped herself up in it, and laying her head upon the wooden pillow, went, or pretended to go, fast asleep. No sooner was this done than Tooitonga rose up, and taking his bride by her hand, led her into the house, and seated her on his left hand. Twenty baked hogs were now brought into the circle of the *malâi*, and a number of expert cooks came with knives (procured from European ships;

* A pillow to sleep on in these islands consists merely of a rod of wood about an inch in diameter, and a foot and a half long, and raised about half a foot by two diverging pieces at each end: the nape of the neck rests upon this.

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formerly they used bamboo) to try their skill in carving with speed and dexterity, which is considered a great recommendation. A considerable part was shared out to the chiefs, each taking his portion and putting it in his bosom*. The remainder of the pork was then heaped up and scrambled for at an appointed signal. The woman who had laid herself down, covered over with *gnatoo*, now rose up and went away, taking with her the *gnatoo*, and the basket containing the bottles of oil, as her perquisites. Tooitonga then took his bride by her left hand, and led her to his dwelling, followed by the little girl and the other four attendants. The people now dispersed, each to his home. Tooitonga being arrived with his bride at his residence, accompanied her into the house appropriated for her†,

* It is a peculiar religious injunction in this ceremony, that the chiefs should put their pork in their bosoms, for they never eat it themselves: and as it is *tabooed* by touching them, no other native of the Tonga islands may eat it: so that it generally falls ultimately to the lot of the natives of the *Fiji* islands, or other foreigners present, who are not subject to the *taboo* of Tonga. For the nature of the *taboo*, reference must be made to the second volume of the work.

† It must be noticed that every great chief has within his fencing several houses, one or more of which always belongs to his wives. He seldom goes to their house to sleep: he generally sends for one to sleep with him; at least, this is always the case with Tooitonga, for nobody can eat, drink, or sleep, in the same house with him without being *tabooed* (see *Taboo*.)

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643 should return from Hamoa. He had, indeed,
581 brought two wives with him, natives of that
[177] place, but, finding that his friends at home had not been unmindful of him in this particular, he resolved to marry these young maidens also: and partly to please his own humour, and partly to afford a little amusement to the Hapai people, he resolved, also, that the ceremony should be performed, for the most part, after the manner of the Navigator's islands.

634 On the morning of the day of marriage, A
585 which was about a week after the arrival of the
[565] prince, most of the lower class of the people were employed in bringing from different parts of the island, yams, ripe plantains, and bananas; cocoa-nuts, bread fruit, fish, and cakes*. These were piled up on the *malài* in four large heaps, with a baked pig on the top of each.
[292] The people assembled on the spot, dressed up
[301] in new garments, ornamented with wreaths of
[302] flowers, and with red ribbands made of the fine membrane of the leaf of the *lo aców*, much resembling silk: their persons were anointed with sweet-scented oil. The spectators seated themselves in two sections of a circle, one beginning from the right, the other from the left

[262] * These cakes are made of flour prepared from the *Ma-*
[252] *hod ruot* (see the vocabulary), mixed up with scraped cocoa-nut into a paste, and baked. They are considered a luxury.

A [of Finow's son--Analyst]

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daring fellow, who often ventured by night and early in the morning close up to the *colo* of Neafoo to kill any stragglers they could meet with. One morning a party of Finow's men, twelve or fourteen in number, among whom was Mr. Mariner, being out on a little excursion, surprised four of the enemy, who were busily employed digging *ma** in a pit: these they immediately laid hold of, and dragged out, to take them home prisoners. Imagining they had got Moteitá and his followers who had so often committed depredations upon them, they resolved to make a signal example of their prisoners. A young chief, however, objected to this measure, and proposed that it would be better to decapitate them at once, and take their heads home. This plan was immediately assented to, but some one observing that they had no knives with them, another casting his eyes upon the ground, remarked, there was something that would do as well; and taking up a shell from a neighbouring spot, where some persons had been eating large pearl oysters, he proposed to proceed to work with oyster-shells as substitutes for knives: this was immediately approved of, and the four unfortunate

* Ma is a species of prepared food, consisting of bread-fruit, or plantains, or bananas; buried for a considerable time under ground, in order to ferment.

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things of little value; and he was exceedingly sorry he had not secured all the dollars out of the Port au Prince, before he had ordered her to be burnt: "I had always thought," said he, "that your ship belonged to some poor fellow, "perhaps to king George's cook*; for captain "Cook's ship, which belonged to the king, had "plenty of beads, axes, and looking-glasses on "board, whilst yours had nothing but iron "hoops, oil, skins, and twelve thousand *páäinga* "as I thought: but if every one of these was "money, your ship must have belonged to a "very great chief indeed."

Finow and his chiefs having now remained at the Hapai islands nearly six weeks, resolved to return to Vavaoo, and the following day set sail: the prince and Mr. Mariner accompanying them. As soon as they arrived at Vavaoo, the king gave orders that all the dogs in the island, except a few that belonged to chiefs, should be killed, because they destroyed the game, particularly the *kalai;* after which he promised himself great sport with his favourite bird. As the breed of dogs was scarce at these islands, there were not more than fifty or sixty killed on

games at the end of the second volume): they supposed dollars to be used among us for a similar purpose.

* At these islands a cook is considered one of the lowest of mankind in point of rank.

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by mooas and tooas, with the exception of the three following, viz. *toofoonga fy cava* (barbers or shavers with shells), *tangata fe oomoo* (cooks), and *ky fonnooa* (peasants), all of whom are tooas.

The remaining professions are followed both

Of the different professions, some are hereditary in the way before mentioned, and some are not; the latter consist of *toofoonga ta tattow* (those who perform the tattow), *toofoonga tongi acow* (club carvers, or engravers of the handle, not inlayers); and *toofoonga fy cava* (barbers). The arts followed by these are not hereditary, for they are not of that respectability to engage a man to follow any of them because his father did the same: they are practised by any one who has a natural turn that way.

But the two lowest of all, viz. the cooks and peasants, are such by inheritance, for the chiefs in whose service they may be necessarily require their services, and their children naturally succeed them, for neither of these arts require any great talent to learn; every body knows how to cook and till the ground in a tolerable degree; but those who are born to no better fate have no alternative left them, they must follow these necessary employments as the business of their life, if their chiefs command them; and to such alone the terms cook and peasants are here applied. The cook is some-

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what the superior; he sees to the supplying of provisions, takes care of the store-house, looks to the thatching and fences of the dwelling-house, occasionally gives an eye to the plantation, and sometimes works upon it himself. The head cook is generally not a little proud of himself, and is looked on with some respect by the cooks below him and the common peasants.

The term cook is frequently applied to a man though he be not a cook, to signify that he is of very low rank: for although a cook belonging to a chief may give himself many airs, and be thought something of by the common tooas about him; yet if there be a company of peasants together, he that has the least to boast of in respect of family connexions is sure to be made the cook, and as it were servant to the rest.

The following then will be the order in which the different professions will stand as to the respect they may command in society:—all individuals are not, however, esteemed according to their profession, but according to their abilities in it; for a clever man in one art will be sometimes more esteemed than a man of moderate abilities in a higher. In this arrangement the cooks are placed before the peasants, because the cooks of chiefs generally have to overlook them.

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Hereditary.	*Toofwonga fo vdca*; canoe-builders.	Followed both by *matabooles* and *mooas*.	555
	Toofoonga fono le; cutters of whale-teeth ornaments.		461
	Toofwonga taboo; superintendants of funeral rites.		565
	Toofoonga ta maca; stone-masons, or makers of stone vaults.	Followed both by *mooas* and *tooas*.	[396]
	Toofoonga jia cobenga; net-makers.		[306]
	Toofoonga toty ica; fishermen.		[767]
	Toofoonga langafalle; large house-builders.		[324]
Hereditary or not.	*Toofwonga la tattow*; those who perform the tattow.		[286]
	Toofoonga tongi acow; club-carvers.		[226]
	Toofoonga fy cava: barbers or shavers with shells.	Followed only by *tooas*.	[331]
Hereditary.	*Tangata fe oomoo*; cooks.		[305]
	Kyfonnoa; peasants.		[322]
			[306]
			[252]
			[241]

Property in these islands, as may easily be conjectured, consists principally in plantations, houses, and canoes, and the right of succession to it is regulated by the order of relationship, as given under the head of Nobles, p. 83, so in like manner is the right of succession to the throne. 421 428

Having now given a view of the rank of individuals in society, with reference to religion, civil government, and professional occupations; we have now to consider it in respect to old age, sex, and childhood. 128

Old persons of both sexes are highly reve- 888

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Formerly the whole of the clubs used to be engraved, but now this ornamental work is confined to the handle: it is executed with a great deal of neatness. A shark's tooth used to be the instrument, but now they make a sort of graver out of a nail flattened, sharpened, and fixed in a handle. Instances of their neatness in this sort of workmanship may be seen in our museums, and in the engraved representations of other works.

Fy cava, shaving the beard. They have two modes of performing this operation, viz. with the two valves of a certain kind of shell, which they call *bi'bi*, and with pumice-stone: the latter is used by the party himself who requires the operation; the former by those whose profession it is to shave others. The edge of one valve being pressed horizontally against the chin or lip by the left hand, that portion of the beard which appears upon it is rubbed or filed off by the rough back of the other valve. This operation is generally performed once in about eight or ten days. The heads of infants are always kept closely shaved; but this is done with a shark's tooth by the mother.

Fe oomoo, the art of cooking. If refinement in cookery be one proof of the civilization of a people, the natives of the South Seas have

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252 something to boast of in this respect; at least
262 the people of the Tonga islands can invite you to partake of at least thirty or forty different kinds of *dishes*, consisting in or prepared from one or more of the following articles, viz. pork, turtle, fowls of different kinds, fish, yams, bread-fruit, plantains, bananas, cocoa-nuts, talo, and cabe, (esculent roots), and mahoá, a preparation from a root of the same name. We shall give a short account of the principal preparations of food.

252 *Baked pork.* The animal is first stunned by a blow with a stick, and then killed by repeated blows on both sides of the neck. It is then rubbed over with the juicy substance of the banana tree, after which it is thrown for a few minutes on the fire, and, when warm, scraped with muscle shells or knives, and then washed. It is next laid on its back, when the cook cuts open the throat, and drawing forth the windpipe and gullet, passes a skewer behind them, and ties a string tight round the latter, afterwards to be divided: he then cuts a circular piece from the belly, from four to six inches diameter, and draws forth the entrails*, separat-

* He has already made a circular incision round the anus, and tied the rectum to secure the contents, lest the interior of the abdomen should get dirty, which they are very careful to avoid, as they do not otherwise wash the inside, which they say would spoil it.

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ing the attachments either by force or by the use of bamboo: the diaphragm is then divided, and the gullet, windpipe, contents of the chest, stomach and liver, are all drawn away together along with the bowels: from these the liver is separated to be baked with the hog; the remainder is washed and cooked over hot embers, to be shared out and eaten in the mean while. The whole inside of the hog is now filled up with hot stones, each wrapped up in bread-fruit leaves, and all the apertures of the body are closed up quickly, also with leaves: it is then laid with the belly downwards, in a hole in the ground, lined with hot stones, a fire having been previously made there for that purpose, but prevented, however, from touching them, by small branches of the bread-fruit tree: a few other branches are now laid across the back of the pig, and plenty of banana leaves strewed or rather heaped over the whole, upon which, again, a mound of earth is raised, so that no steam apparently escapes. The liver is put by the side of the pig, and sometimes yams. By these means, a good sized pig may be very well cooked in half an hour: a large hog is generally about half done in this way, then taken up, cut to pieces, and each piece being wrapped up separately in leaves, is cooked again in like manner. Yams, fowls, bread-fruit, and every

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thing that is baked, is dressed after this manner; the larger yams being cut into smaller pieces. They perform the process of boiling in earthen pots, of the manufacture of the Fiji islands, or in iron vessels procured from ships, or in banana leaves: they also occasionally roast food upon hot embers. As to their made dishes, the following is a list of the principal.

Vy-hoo; fish soup, made with a liquid preparation of cocoa-nut and water.

Vy-oófi; boiled yams mashed up with cocoa-nut and water.

Vy-hópa; ripe bananas cut in slices, and boiled with cocoa-nut and water.

Vy-chi; a sort of jelly made of *ma*, and the juice of the *chi* root.

Vy-vi; a sort of apple grated, mixed with water and strained.

Bobói; a preparation of *ma* and *chi*, forming a stronger jelly, but similar to *vychi*.

Boi; similar to the above, but not jellied.

Fy'caky' lólo toótoo; bread-fruit beaten up and cut into small pieces: it is eaten with a preparation of cocoa-nut, and the juice either of the *chi* or sugar-cane: it very much resembles, in appearance and taste, batter pudding, with melted butter and sugar.

Fy'caky' lólo mátta; same as the above, eaten with the expressed juice of the cocoa-nut.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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Loo-lolói; talo leaves heated or stewed with the expressed juice of the cocoa-nut. 252 262

Loo-effenico; talo leaves heated with grated cocoa-nut fermented.

Loo álo he booáca; talo leaves heated with a fat piece of pork, kept till it is *high.*

Loo táhi; talo leaves heated with a small quantity of sea water.

Ma me; fermented bread-fruit.

Ma hópa; fermented bananas.

Ma nátoo; fermented bananas well kneaded and baked.

Ma lolói; fermented bananas stewed with expressed juice of the cocoa-nut.

Lolói fekke; dried cat-fish, stewed with the expressed juice of the cocoa-nut.

Loloi; a baked pudding made of *mahoá* root and the expressed juice of the cocoa-nut.

Tawgoótoo; a baked cake made of *mahoá* root, small pieces of cocoa-nut, and the expressed juice of the nut.

Fucca-láli; the powder of *mahoá* root sprinkled into boiling water till the whole becomes a semi-jellied mass.

Ve-hálo; a preparation of the substance of young cocoa-nuts, with their milk stewed together.

Awty'; the inside of young cocoa-nuts and the juice of the *chi* root mixed with the milk.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

that young superior chiefs have, for the most part, old matabooles, and, as they grow older, they begin to have younger matabooles, who succeed their deceased fathers.

In respect to the *tooas*, they may be subdivided into three ranks, viz. those few who are warriors, and are part of the *cow-tangata* of chiefs; those who are professed cooks, in the service of chiefs; and those who till the ground: The latter live entirely in the country with their wives and families, and occupy themselves wholly in cultivating the land: their wives and daughters make gnatoo, mats, &c., but never till the ground, nor do any hard work.

The natives of Fiji, Hamoa, and the Sandwich islands, who were resident at Tonga, used to say that it was not a good practice of the people of the latter place to let their women lead such easy lives; the men, they said, had enough to do in matters of war, &c. and the women ought therefore to be made to work hard and till the ground: no, say the Tonga men, it is not *gnale fafine* (consistent with the feminine character) to let them do hard work; women ought only to do what is feminine: who loves a masculine woman? besides, men are stronger, and therefore it is but proper that they should do the hard labour. It seems to be a peculiar trait in the character of the Tonga

4: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1923 009 Tonga 009

Faihavaumea. Completed clayey passage [fai, to do, to perform, to discharge, to execute; hava, passage; umea, clay]. Tract near Taoa, village on Vavau island (V). 103

Faihonge. In the grip of famine [fai, performance, execution; honge, famine]. Tract near Haatafu, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Faiipa. To do it on the shield. Tract in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Faikakai. A food preparation of softened breadfruit cooked with coconut oil, or of kape (Arum costatum) cooked with coconut oil. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H). [252]

Faikuku. To do with clenched fist [fai, to do; kuku, to clench the fist]. Tract near Haakili, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Failautohi. To do with schools [fai, to do; lautohi, school]. Tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord. Also tract on Matuku, island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord. Also tract on Haafeva island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord. Also district near Fakakakai, village on Haano island (H).

Faileilei. To do good [fai, to do; leilei, good]. Tract on Niuafoou island (NF).

Failio. To do with ants [fai, to do; lio, the ant]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.

Failoio. To do with oil [fai, to do; loio, oil]. Tract near Vaini, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Maafu, landlord.

Failoto. Performed with the mind [fai, to perform; loto, the mind]. Former village on Foa island (H). Tract near Lotofoa, village on Foa island (H)—Tui Pelehake, landlord. Also tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord. Also tract on Niuafoou island (NF).

Failotu. To say prayers [fai, to do; lotu, prayer]. Tract near Houma, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Vaea, landlord.

Failula. It has sufficient taro leaves [fai, sufficient; lu, taro leaves; la, it]. Tract near Tatakamotonga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tungi, landlord. Also tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord.

Failupe. Sufficient pigeons [fai, sufficient; lupe, the fruit pigeon (Carpophaga pacifica]. Tract near Pukotala, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.

Faimanako. To do what one likes [fai, to do; manako, to like]. Tract on Atata island (T)—Ata, landlord.

Faimata. To prepare uncooked food [fai, to do; mata, uncooked]. Tract on Eueiki island (T). Also tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.

Faimoiau. To work and talk at the same time [fai, to do; mo, and; iau, to talk]. Tract in Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V)—Uiukalala, landlord.

Fainafui. To do repeatedly [fai, to do; nafui, to repeat]. Tract near Makaunga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord.

Fainapiu. Pineapple (according to two Tongan informants). Tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord.

Fainiaku. To make this by throwing up loose earth with the hands [fai, to do; ni, this; aku, to throw up loose earth with the hands]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.

Fainoa. To be mistaken. Tract near Haatafu, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Fotua, village on Foa island (H)—Tui Pelehake, landlord.

Faioa. To be awake and doing [fai, to do, to perform; o, and; a, to be awake]. Tract near Haavakatolo, village on Tongatapu island (T)—Ahomee, landlord. Also tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

539 Kau 'alu ki Vava'u,
524 Kia Unga-tangi-tau
Mo siene fanau;
Kuo 'i Fisi Semisi,
Kuo 'i Tonga Loloa,
Palea ho vaka ki Ha'amoa;
Faka-osi hala mei Tefisi,
Naipoli mo Poliki,
Tukilaki Mataliki,
Laka hiki, laku taha,
Ua, tolu, fa,
He tefunini maka-lele,
Taha nofo vai-te-lele,
Ua nofo vai-te-lele,
Tolu nofo vai-te-lele,
Fa nofo vai-te-lele,
Nima nofo vai-te-lele,
Ono nofo vai-te-lele,
Fitu nofo vai-te-lele,
Valu nofo vai-te-lele,
Hiva nofo vai-te-lele,
Ulu nofo vai-te-lele.

I shall go to Vavau
To Unga-desiring-war
And his dear family;
James is in Fiji,
Loloa is in Tonga,
Thy boat is paddled to Samoa.
Finish the road from Tefisi,
Naipoli and Poliki,
Pleiades in collision,
Step removing, throw one
Two, three, four,
He tefunini running rock,
One, stay *vaitelele* (water the running),
Two, stay *vaitelele*,
Three, stay *vaitelele*,
and so on up to *ulu* 9, 10, game) *vaitelele*.[1]

Makamiki

The game of *makamiki* consists in guessing in which hand one of the players holds a small piece, called the *matakai*. The player who has the piece put his hand behind his back, so that his opponent, or opponents, may not see in which hand he holds it, and then puts his hands in front for the others to guess in which hand it is. The guesser flips his fingers in front of the closed fists, flipping before one fist and then the other, and the hand before which he ceases his flipping is the one in which he reckons the *matakai* to be held. If he guesses correctly he takes the *matakai*, and his opponent guesses. I do not know the principle on which the flipping is done, whether or not the flipper repeats words to himself as he flips. A way [252] of telling whether or not food in an oven is cooked—opening the earth oven to see is a more serious affair than opening the door of a European oven—is to go down the index finger of one hand with the thumb and index finger of the other, saying *moho, ota, moho, ota,* (cooked, uncooked, cooked, uncooked) and the word in which the bottom of the finger is reached indicates the state of the food in the oven. A little stick, a midrib of the coconut leaflet, may be used instead of the finger.

As the man who holds the *matakai* in *makamiki* shuffles it behind his back he repeats this rhyme:

Makamiki, makapoto,
Silapapi, tongotongo,
'Ai e tuki, 'ai e mono,
Na'a hoko mai telinga fetoho,
Fei mo matemate ke poto.

Makamiki, clever stone,
Silapapi, mangrove,
Make a blow, make repair,
Lest there be ears long-pulled,
Do your best to be clever.

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 0U9 Tonga 0U9

There seems to have been many named ornamental trees growing on and about Kafoa. Among these were the great *ake* called Tukungaalofia, the *heilala* called Mamatataaemaukava (The-onlookers-who-brought-no-kava), two *hehea* trees called Hafeofafine, a large "almond" called Vakaikaevete (Look-while-it-is-undone), and a large hala (*fala; Pandanus*) called Kikatenofa (Squeal-and-I-will-stay).

The story mentions a row of eight stones, where pigeon snares were set, as situated near the mound Kafoa and associated with the big *ake* and *tutuna* trees where pigeons were made to fly, and a house called Kolonga situated near the pigeon mound. Neither of these sites, if indeed they ever existed, could be located. The reference is undoubtedly to a pigeon mound (p. 19).

The evidence furnished by these traditions and by the structural peculiarities of the mound, gives occasion for doubt as to whether Kafoa was an *esi* or a pigeon mound. The mention of pigeon snaring and the presence of the central pit on the top of the mound indicates a pigeon mound. The natives, most of whom consider the mound as an *esi*, explain the presence of the pit in various ways: the place where a *heilala* tree was planted; the chief's bathing place; the place where the chief sat; the cooking place; the site of a house. But they do not satisfactorily explain why a pit should be constructed in which to plant a tree, why a chief should choose to sit at an elevation lower than that of his attendant social inferiors (a drastic breach of Tongan etiquette) or what an oven was doing on a chief's *esi* (only commoners cooked and they were not permitted to go onto a chief's *esi*). The explanation that the pit was a bathing place is reasonable but savors of rationalization. On the other hand, one informant, who described the place as a pigeon mound, actually gave a more or less detailed description of how the pit was used for that purpose. In Haapai and Tongatabu there are mounds of this type intimately associated with typical pigeon mounds, but some of these are consistently called *esi*.

The place is generally looked upon as an *esi* and the myth relating of its origin favors this interpretation. It is difficult to understand why a great number of ornamental shrubs and trees, many of them highly valued for their fragrant blossoms and some of them actually monopolized in use by chieftains of high rank, should be planted about a pigeon mound. The translations of the names of some of these trees: The-onlookers-who-brought-no-kava, Look-while-it-is-undone, Squeal-and-I-will-stay, have no apparent reference here to pigeon snaring. On the other hand, the mention of kava suggests the use of the place for kava ceremonies, associated with *esi*. As for the central pit, there are in Tonga other so-called *esi* similarly equipped (p. 18), although the use of the pit remains unaccounted for.

As a matter of fact, the truth is probably generous to both explanations. The evidence clearly indicates an *esi* and the interpretation of the structure

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

172 764 were particularly fragile. No artifacts of any kind were found with the burials, although a dark discoloration of the sand immediately surrounding each burial may have been caused partially by the decay of perishable materials placed with the dead.

172 There can be no doubt that the surface of the mound was covered with a layer of kitchen refuse, thus confirming the statement that the mound was at one time the site of a god-house, the dwelling house of a priest. Cooking [252] was never undertaken in Tonga within the house, but the mound was sufficiently large to accommodate both house and cooking place. The condition of the ovens indicates that they were not used at a very recent date.

It is equally evident that the body of the mound constituted a burial place. All facts point toward a rather primitive interment. The condition of the skeletal material was comparatively good, in spite of a wet climate conducive to rapid decay. The position of the burials above the level of the surrounding land, and the sandy material surrounding the bones, combine to establish ideal drainage conditions and to favor long preservation. There were no signs of intermingling of the kitchen refuse with the clean sand body of the mound. A sharp line of demarkation extends between the two elements throughout the excavated area. The fact that the burials preceded the deposit of the surface stratum is emphasized by the occurrence of an earth oven directly over two of the skeletons.

If the traditional account is to be credited, the surface deposit of the mound had been completed previous to the middle of the nineteenth century, but nothing positive can be said concerning the age of the bottom of the [262] kitchen deposit. Such deposits may accumulate rapidly in Tonga, owing [354] not only to the great number of marine shellfish eaten by the natives, but more especially to the fact that the coral oven-stones had to be replaced after two or three bakings. On the other hand, examination of a kitchen midden on this same island (p. 102) produced evidence that a very thin deposit of such refuse could represent an appreciable passage of time.

The question arises as to the length of time elapsing between the last burial and the erection of the god-house. In consideration of the great respect shown by the Tongans towards the dead, it is hard to believe that even a god-house would have been built upon a known burial site. This consideration suggests that the house was not built until the inhabitants ceased to remember the mound as a place of burial and, therefore, the interments appear to have been at least prehistoric. According to Sullivan (21), the bones are Polynesian in type. The pottery found in this mound is discussed on pages 115-116.

EUA SITES

133 The island of Eua, ten miles southeast of Tongatabu, is 30 miles in circumference and more than 1000 feet in maximum height. On the northwest

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

FOOD

PREPARATION

54. Fengutu a fei-umu ota: To defend badly cooked (insufficiently cooked) food. 539 571

To defend one's badly done work against the criticisms of others, as the man who has prepared and served underdone food may persist, in spite of all that others urge, in declaring that his feast is done to a turn.

55. Fifi ika maka: Wrapping rock fish in leaves. 539 252

Rock fish are those of fine quality. In cooking fish are frequently wrapped up in a sheath of plaited coconut leaves. The object of this is to keep the fish intact, and is a method employed specially in cooking fish of good quality. A "rock" fish is worth the trouble of plaiting the leaflets round it. Taking pains over a thing that is worth the care. (See No. 203.)

56. Fifi ika vale: Wrapping up a fish of no account.

This is the reverse of No. 55. Taking great pains over what is not worth the trouble.

57. Hange ha feiumu uha: Like cooking in the rain.

The preparation of food which is carried out in the open, or with the protection only of very inadequate shelters, is rendered difficult by rain; the food is liable not to be as well cooked in wet as in fine weather. This phrase is a rebuke to those who have performed badly a piece of work, although the conditions under which they labored were favorable. [461]

58. Hange ha fokifokihi tunu: Like the turning of food baked (in the embers).

Food cooked in this way must not be left alone, but constantly turned. Use of a thing that is in constant requisition.

59. Hiki lepo: Moving the *lepo* (leaves with which the earth oven is covered on the outside). 539 252 372 501 571

It is used of taking advantage of the temporary absence of anyone to usurp that which belongs to him, "to jump his claim". It is said that the expression originated in one of the voyages of the great canoe called the *Lomipeau*, which is asserted to have brought in one trip from Uvea to Tonga the stones for many of the great sepulchral vaults of the highest chiefs. Seagoing canoes used to be equipped with a *talafu*, a large wooden bowl filled with earth in which ovens were made to cook the food. The *Lomipeau* had an immense *talafu* commensurate with her own huge size, so large that a number of ovens could be dug in it at the one time. It is the practice when the food is taken out of the oven to put aside the leaves with which it was covered, and not mix the leaves belonging to various ovens.

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
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539 On board the *Lomipeau*, however, was a man named Lasukau who disre-
252 garded this rule and moved things round at his pleasure; but no one dared
372 to remonstrate with him because of his personal strength and prowess. For
501 one to place his *lepo* at the side of an oven is to mark that oven as his; for
571 another to move this *lepo* is to disregard the claims of the first man.

539 **60. Hina e toumohomoho:** The plantain leaves (*toumohomoho*)
252 are white.
824 Plantain and banana leaves are used for covering up food in the native oven. When the food is taken up these leaves are called *toumohomoho* and are used to line the baskets in which the food is taken to the house where it will be eaten. These leaves are then cast aside as of no further use. At first they are green, but as they fade their color becomes whitish. If one sees such leaves lying about a house their color is an indication of how long they have been there, so that to say that the leaves are white means that it is a long time since there has been a feast.

539 **61. Kailu fa he tuunga u:** To rummage for scraps in the middle
252 of the oven.
777 This is used of one whose aims are humble but who meets with an
372 unexpected stroke of luck. Just as the man who, searching for remains in places where food has been cooked or eaten, suddenly comes upon unanticipated plenty, here denoted by the middle and lowest part of the oven where the food is most in quantity and best in quality. *Tuunga u*, translated the middle of the oven, means literally the standing-place of the *u*, the stick with which the hot stones are arranged in the earth oven. This stick is used to arrange the stones up the sides of the hole, beginning at the bottom, so that the standing-place from which the stick begins its operations is the lowest and midmost part of the oven.

539 **62. Kina umu tala ki tahi:** Depending on the sea for the meat
226 part of a meal.
Looking to an uncertain source of supply; trusting to a capricious support. So many are the hazards of the sea that there is a very good chance of a late dinner if the joints cannot be found ashore.

539 **63. Kuma jii vela hono iku:** Little rat, his tail burnt.
262 Formerly the native rat, a vegetable feeder, was used for human food. The rat at best is but a small animal, and therefore when he is being cooked care should be taken not to burn his tail off. Being served with tail complete makes the most of what size he is. This expression, an expostulation against burning off the tail of the rat, has passed into a proverb for conserving as carefully as possible all there is of any small object.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
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64. Namu ma ka nae ilo ahoa: Smelling of bread but known by daylight. 539 262 252

The word translated "bread" indicates the fermented paste of the breadfruit and other plants. The fruits were buried in pits and kept for long periods. This fermented paste made up in little balls and cooked, is a nourishing and tasty food. Most strangers, however, are debarred from sampling it by the initial difficulty of overcoming their repugnance to this dainty's extremely gamey perfume, which is as objectionable to the European as some cheeses are to the Tongan. The expression originates in the story of the handsome man *(manaia)*, Vainuku of Eua. A certain Female Tui Tonga, went to Eua to see Vainuku, and on landing on the island sent one of her women to procure fire. In spite of his attractiveness Vainuku liked making up and cooking "bread," and the woman found him in the cookhouse engaged in preparing food for the recently arrived visitors. The woman pulled off Vainuku's turban, and seeing him with head uncovered knew who he was, for it was his hair that was his chief beauty. When night came Vainuku went to court the lady visitors, but they all cried out in disgust at the man smelling of "bread," until he came to the woman who had seen him in the cookhouse; she, having seen him by daylight, knew who he was.

65. Nofo e fononga kae ui moa: The visitors having no share, but calling fowls. 539 574

This indicates a man who calls the fowls, not to entertain his guests as he should, but for some other purpose.

66. Ota fuifui vai: Raw fish rinsed with (fresh) water. 539 262 252

Certain sorts of fish are often cut up and eaten raw. The flavor of such fish is most appreciated when they are rinsed with sea-water; they are held to be spoiled if fresh water is employed. This is spoiling a good thing by bad handling, and is applied to one who seeing something he likes, for example, an article or piece of work, tries to make one of the same sort for himself, but bungles it. He spoils a good pattern by his unskillfulness.

67. Ota tae fuifui: Raw fish not rinsed.

Raw fish is usually rinsed with sea-water before being eaten. This is sed of a thing not properly done.

68. Tae ngali vai: Unfit (for) water, or perhaps unworthy (of) water. 539 262 252 829

This expression is used of one who has a good reputation and does something unworthy of himself. Literally this expression seems to refer to the eating of raw fish, as No. 67, and to the undesirability of preparing the fish with fresh water. A good fish spoiled by the wrong sort of water; and so a good person spoiled by the wrong sort of behavior.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
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539 252 264 **69. Paki ua uli taki taha vau:** Break in two—dirty. Each one scrape.

Refers directly to food such as the yam which has been baked in the embers. Ordinarily the yam, for instance, when taken from the fire would first be scraped clean and then divided among those who are to eat it. This indicates that there must be haste. The yam taken from the fire is to be divided while the charred outside skin is still on, and each one will [574] clean his piece for himself. One of the commonest motives urging to such haste would seem to be the apprehension that an unwelcome visitor will soon be coming to share in the meal. Generally of that which is to be done quickly.

539 252 **70. Poto hono fijifiji kae vale hono fokifokihi:** Skilled at its flipping but unskilled at its turning.

The Tongans flip cooking food with the nail of the fore-finger to test whether it is done or not. Food being cooked in the embers must be turned from time to time. The phrase indicates a man who does none of the work, is not willing to give the food a turn now and again, but is to the fore when it comes to finding out whether it is done or not. Obvious application to a lazy, greedy person.

539 262 [137] **71. Talia a umu kape:** Waiting for a meal of *kape* (*Arum costatum*).

At certain stages of its growth the *kape* is too pungent to be eaten. Hungry men, therefore, may wait for a meal of this root to be cooked only to find after all that they cannot eat it. So the expression is used of disappointed expectation.

539 252 262 251 **72. Teka a ma momoko:** Chucking cold *ma* about.

Ma, applied now to European bread, is the fermented fruit of certain plants, most commonly of the breadfruit, prepared by burying it in pits. This method of treatment, which is falling into almost complete disuse, was a very common and successful way of preserving a supply of food. Not only was the uncooked food thus kept for an indefinite length of time, but when cooked it remained good for a long period. One could throw it about anyhow and it still turned up good when wanted again. So of anything which, in spite of hard usage, is still good when wanted.

539 262 252 **73. Toki kovi a niu lelei:** Good nut is just bad.

Coconut is much used and highly esteemed in Tongan cookery. An article of food which cannot be rendered palatable by coconut must be very bad indeed. The upshot of cooking such a hopelessly unpalatable article with nut is that so much good coconut is merely wasted. Generally of that which is so extremely bad that contact with what is good cannot improve it, but the whole lot is wasted and spoiled.

[264] A story connected with this phrase is that the notorious cannibal Kaifakaau, who was alive at the time of the introduction of Christianity, once tried the experiment of cooking the genital organs of a woman with

8: Collocott & Havea M,1-5 (no date) 1922
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coconut, but found that he had produced a most unsavory dish and had to throw it all away. He had merely wasted so much good coconut. 539 262 252 266

74. Ua ji ua pooi: Eating *ji* eating *pooi*.

The *pooi* is a preparation of food, which before the introduction of sugar used to be sweetened with the root of the *ji (Cordyline terminalis)*. If one ate up the *ji* beforehand he would have to go without the *pooi*. You cannot eat your cake and have it. 539 262 263

75. Umu toona e he vale: Food cooked by the fool. 539

Good food that has been spoiled by a bad cook; anything good that has been spoiled by bad treatment. 252

EATING AND DRINKING

76. Aho kai fonu: Day on which turtle is eaten. 539 262

The turtle is a luxury, hence day of treat. It is said that this expression originated with a love adventure of the handsome Lepuha, who lived at Leimatua in Vavau. This good-looking and amorous gentleman came in his wanderings to the house of a woman who lived at the back part of the island, and whose face was disfigured by ulceration. Lepuha had intercourse with the unfortunate woman, who said to him as he was about to depart, "This is a day on which turtle has been eaten." Lepuha ungallantly replied, "*Mavae lua*," that is, "Going away and vomiting," implying the disgust which he felt at having cohabited with so grievously disfigured a woman. This phrase, *Mavae lua*, is used proverbially for the after disgust one may feel at something he has done.

77. Mavae lua: Separating (and) vomiting. (See No. 76.)

78. Fakahali a vale: Making slip of foolish, that is, the foolish person's way of making food slip down. 539 264 183

Fakahali, making slide, means moderate eating, but the moderation of a foolish person, or of the improvident young, is to eat to repletion without a thought for the future or for anyone who may go hungry just beside him. Applied to eating the expression means to attend only to one's own appetite without regard for others or for the future. Used generally of improvident, foolish conduct, as of a man who is not a sailor going out by himself in a boat or of one who is not a carpenter undertaking to build a house.

79. Fakaua mea melie: Hungry for sweet things.

Baker renders: "To wish to eat sweet or superior food only." It might be used of one who desires only the good things of life.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
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539 225 571 622 shared with the chiefs ashore. When the man in charge of a turtle-fishing expedition sees that he has sufficient to satisfy the appetite of etiquette he may give permission to his men for each one to try to get something for himself.

539 225 554 **233. Tuku e feke kae jio kehe:** Letting the octopus alone and looking away.

The octopus is a very highly relished dish. Moreover when estimating the skill of a fisherman in catching the denizens of the rocks more account will be taken of his success with the octopus than with any other sea creature. So this phrase indicates one who is regardless of that to which he should pay earnest attention.

539 226 **234. Tulituli henga:** Beginning to go for the *henga*.

The *henga* is the tuft of hibiscus fibre used as a bait in certain sorts of fishing. The phrase means primarily that the fish are nosing about the bait and the fisherman can feel that they are close; so the meaning is that the fish are close. Thence of anything that is near at hand.

235. Vale a hakau: The reef is foolish.

Indicates that a boat has gone out to sea to fish for bonito or shark but has been unsuccessful. The vicinity of certain reefs is frequently resorted to as a fishing ground.

SHELL-FISH AND SHELL FISHING

236. Filihia moe elili: Overturned with the *elili*.

The *elili* is a shell-fish whose favorite haunt is the edge of the reef where the sea breaks heavily. The shell fisher is therefore apt to be overset by the big seas when seeking the *elili*, but this will be endured for the sake of the prize.

237. Maumau e elili moe loka: The *elili* wasted by the rough sea.

The *elili* is a shell-fish whose favorite haunt is the edge of the reef where the sea breaks. If the sea is too rough it is impossible to gather it. So there may be places where there is good store of natural wealth but the difficulties are so great that man is prevented from availing himself of this plenty.

539 252 **238. He oku kula leva ae unga?** Is the crab red at once?

A question in this form is frequently used of emphatic negative. The crab turns red when cooked and although the change of color may take some time yet it is bound to appear. So of things that are hidden: sooner or later the truth will come to light.

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
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239. Unga toho ngeeji: Hermit crab dragging shell. 539 825

The hermit crab, burdened as he is with the shell of some other creature, makes only slow progress when he moves. This expression is used of one who is slow in his work or movements. 461

240. Koe loli foki e vau: The sea-slug (*Holothuria atra*) anyway will be scraped. 539 252

This sea-slug is found in great numbers on the reefs; before it is eaten its outer bitter skin is scraped off. If those who go out on the reef for shell-fish and the like fail in finding anything else they are sure to be able to get some sea-slugs to scrape. Used of conversation which failing of topics comes round to some thread-bare subject or well-worn scandal. 226 [136] [521]

241. Pulou kema: Veiled with a clam-shell. 539

Used to one who is ashamed to make a request. It is like saying "put a clam-shell over your face so that it cannot be seen and then beg for what you want." Also used of one who is very ready at begging things from others. He is as though he had no shame, as though his face were always shielded from observation. (Compare No. 395.) 735 571 167 237

242. Tafola vetevete afi: *Tafola* scattering fire. 539

The *tafola* is a kind of crab which is cooked by being thrown alive into the embers and whose death agony is marked by violent struggles which scatter the fire. The expression is used of a disobedient child who apparently makes a moral dispersal of his elders' commands analogous to the displacing of the fire by the luckless crab. 252 [857]

243. Takanga a pipi mo kahi: Companionship of the *pipi* and *kahi*. 539 825

The *pipi* and the *kahi* are two shell-fish which are often found together, but the *kahi* devours the *pipi*. It is like the companionship of a simpleton with a sharper who fleeces him. Baker translates the phrase: "To make a pet or comrade of one who will cause trouble or pain." (Compare No. 47.) 571

244. Tanu a uu: The burying of the robber crab, or the robber crab buries himself. 539 825

The robber crab (*Birgus latro*), burrows into the sand and buries himself, often for months at a time. He remains under ground so long that one might think he was dead but one day he comes again to the surface. So used of a thing that is long out of sight but at length comes again to light.

245. Tonuhia ae kaloaa ka koe vaka: The *kaloaa* is in the right but it is the boat. 539 825 183

The *kaloaa* is a shell-fish (*Arca scapha*?) which does not move about, unlike the boat which goes and comes at will. So if any disagreement [36]

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

the Kava to Duatonga, or any of his family, all of whom are considered sacred, they must sit down cross-legged, before they deliver it out of their hands.

During the preparation of the Kava, the Tomaagee, or principal servants of the chief, are busily employed in an out house built for the purpose, in baking yams. These, as soon as ready, they bring in baskets, made of entwined leaves, and lay them before the chief and the circle of guests as far as they go. They eat these yams after drinking the Kava; and during their meal talk with each other, as they please, on different subjects.

Whenever the lower orders can procure the Kava, they always drink it in companies in this festive manner; in which they often spend the two or three first hours of the morning. They have this pleasure, however, but seldom, as the chiefs generally exact it of them, to drink it with their brother chiefs and their attendants. They exercise an arbitrary power over the lower orders, and have every thing belonging to them in their power, which their sub-officers take from them, without ceremony, as the chief may need. Though the provision they have by them be ever so scanty, they are required to cook a part of it for the chief; so that they are frequently obliged to eat the root of the plantain-tree, for a wretched subsistance, or to resort to the chief, and beg some food. The chief will send his attendants

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
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ters amongst the branches; some as large as a boy's head, full grown, and exuding a gum; others turned yellow, through ripeness, and the gum dried up. These fruits,[1] when cut into four parts, and baked like potatoes in the fire, in a kind of oven, formed a good substitute for bread, while the ripe cocoa-nuts supplied me with both meat and drink of a delicious flavour, and the plantains furnished me with a refreshing desert after dinner. The oven which they use, is a hole dug in the ground, the sides obliquely sloped. In this they kindle a fire, on which they place some stones; as soon as these are red hot, they draw the burnt sticks from under them, and, spreading the stones, place their provisions on them. They then lay some sticks prepared for the purpose across the hole to keep it hollow, and cover them with plantain and other broad and long leaves; on which they heap grass and sods, to confine the heat. In this manner their provisions are cooked in the course of half an hour. I have seen a pig of the weight of fourteen or sixteen stone sufficiently baked in one of these ovens, in the space of four hours.

The rows of sugar canes which I had planted on each side the path, leading to the high road, had shot up to the height of eight or ten feet; and now they embowered and entwined themselves so as to form a shady walk. I had improved upon the method of planting them, usual with the natives,

1 [i.e. breadfruit--Analyst]

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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which he has read about. That such professional ambitions for his child may be realized Biukala has decided that he must become as much like a white man as possible. particularly in the sense of being able to read and write easily, more particularly in his possession of what to him are large amounts of ready cash. But in this respect Biukala is a deviant in village-life. He does not represent in any sense the ideals or achievements of village-culture. He is rather an example of the way in which there is within the village, minor inequality in the use that is made of some of the traits that have been taken from white culture into village-culture as the result of culture-contact.

Preparation of Foods

The preparation of food does not show great variety. The staple vegetables are cooked by grilling on hot ashes, by baking in the earth-oven, by mixing with coconut-cream and then oven-baking, and finally by boiling (either with water or coconut-cream) in an empty five-gallon kerosene can. Oven-cooking is the most troublesome method. It demands a large supply of firewood and a long wait before the food is cooked. It is always used for feast foods but for everyday eating there is a tendency for boiling to supplant the use of the oven. Food may be baked by the average household once or twice a week. For the rest, the diet is boiled food. Kerosene cans are at a premium in the village. They have, after all, many uses ranging from a food container to a baby bath. Each household likes to have more than one as part of the household furniture.

Fruits are eaten raw, crushed or squeezed and then mixed with coconut-cream, baked with coconut-cream, sometimes boiled. Apart from coconuts and papaia, however, fruit figures little in the diet of the adult. Children ranging the bush are more likely to eat substantial amounts of wild fruits. Bananas are mostly boiled while green and unripe. Ripe bananas are saved for feasts.

Pork, chicken, and meat are cooked by oven baking. Canned meats and fish are eaten as they come from the can. Fresh fish is baked, grilled, or boiled.

Green leafy vegetables are seldom eaten. Sometimes *taro* leaves are oven-baked between layers of pork fat or

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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252 262 coconut-cream, but even this dish is not particularly common. Sea weeds are eaten, however, whenever they can be obtained.

271 272 Water and coconuts are the usual drink. Concoctions of sugar and lemons or limes are favourites with young and old alike. They are enjoyed whenever there is sugar available.

262 For his day-to-day staple foods the villager uses what he can grow in his gardens. To the old Tongan foods he has added such extras as corn, melons, and other fruits. For his relishes he relies on reef-foods, occasional pork and chicken, and canned foods whenever he can spare the money to make his daily meal more interesting.

FOOD-CONSUMPTION

262 592 The manner in which food is consumed during an average week of our stay in Pangai is shown by the following table. This week covers the seven days between January 23rd and January 29th and refers to the food-consumption of four separate households.

TABLE 6.—FOOD-CONSUMPTION

House-hold	Composition Adults	Children	Vegetable Staples Lbs. per pers. for seven days	*Papaia*	Coconut	Extras Meat	Fish	Chicken
A	3	2	59	49	48	8 lbs	10 lbs.	—
B	3	2	55	—	21	—	18 lbs.	1
C	5	8	57	44	52	—	reef food	—
D	5	5	56	25	64	—	reef food	—

[124] Various comments on this table are in order. It will be noted firstly that the four household heads, each keeping his record for the same period, independently of the others, express common agreement on the amount of staple vegetables consumed by the Tongan villager. It was not possible to determine the relative amounts eaten by children and adults. The staple vegetables include *taro*, *manioke*, *kape* (giant *taro*), plantains, green bananas. In addition, very small amounts (included in the above totals) of breadfruit, yam and sweet potato were eaten by three of these four families during this week. One family only of the four and on one day only, ate "greens" in the form of *taro* leaves oven-baked with coconut-cream. All the coconuts listed in

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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the four records were used in the form of coconut-cream in which the staples were boiled. No informant bothered to list the number of drinking nuts used because, for him, the nuts were equivalent to water in the diet. The meat eaten was canned. The fish eaten was mostly fresh, helped out by canned salmon and herring. The reef-food eaten as a relish by two of the families included shell-fish, jelly-fish, octopus, seaweed and other edible reef-material.

In addition to this food actually consumed by members of the household, further food was on some days collected from the gardens and distributed in the gift-exchange. Thus family B was visited for two days by the sister of the household head, her husband and two children. When these visitors left, the household head presented them with a gift of about fifteen pounds of *taro* and one large pig. Food to feed the pigs would also have to be collected: about fifty mature coconuts for each pig would be the amount used in this connection.

The specific amounts of food harvested and used by one of these families (household D) is given in the next table.

TABLE 7.—HOUSEHOLD FOOD

Date	Time	Way Prepared	Food—Number of Tubers: *Taro*	Plantain	Green Bananas	*Kape*	*Manioke*	*Papaia*	Reef Foods Baskets
Jan. 23	Morning	Boiled	30	18	30	—	—	—	1
	Evening	Boiled	20	10	25	—	—	—	—
Jan. 24	Morning	Boiled	40	15	45	—	—	—	1
	Evening	Boiled	20	—	40	—	—	—	1
Jan. 25	Morning	Boiled	45	—	50	—	—	—	1
	Evening	Boiled	30	—	40	—	—	—	1
Jan. 26	Morning	Oven	50	—	—	2	—	15	2
	Evening	Boiled	—	50	17	—	—	—	—
Jan. 27	Morning	Boiled	37	—	40	—	—	—	—
	Evening	Boiled	29	—	20	—	—	—	—
Jan. 28	Morning	Boiled	50	22	19	—	—	—	—
	Evening	Boiled	25	17	—	—	—	—	—
Jan. 29	Morning	Oven	—	—	—	7	30	10	1
	Evening	Boiled	—	—	—	3	—	—	—

This table suggests very vividly the dietary of the Pangai people. For five days there is a steady diet of *taro*, plantain, and green bananas with additional shell-fish relish. For each meal of these five days the staples were prepared by boiling in a kerosene tin with coconut-cream (64 mature

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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nuts were used for this purpose). On the remaining two days boiled food was eaten for the evening meal but an oven was made for the morning meal. Cooking food by oven, as already noted, is more laborious than the simple boiling. Large quantities of firewood must be collected, the oven heated, and time consumed in waiting for the food to be cooked. However, on these two days, it was possible to give variety to the diet by adding *kape*, *manioke*, and *papaia* to the oven-cooking.

The other three diet schedules follow the same trend as given in this example. There is a certain emphasis on one or other of the staples (*manioke*, *taro*, *kape*, plantain, green bananas) according to taste and relative amounts of each staple produced in the household-gardens. Breadfruit, yam, and sweet potato, are something of a luxury at this time of the year.

The amounts of food eaten were quantitatively measured by striking average weights for each staple, based upon actual weighing of tubers of *taro*, etc., and of plantains and bananas. The weights of these tubers vary somewhat during the year, depending on time of planting and harvesting. Thus, *kape* planted in March and harvested fourteen months later, weigh up to eighteen pounds.

One further variation in the diets is due to the amount of money (if any) that a household is prepared to spend on food, mainly meat and fish, and to the degree to which either the men or the women of the household are prepared to fish or explore the reef for edible relish. The head of Household A in Table 6 earned a small salary as a village school-teacher. In one week he was able to spend the sum of twelve shillings buying canned meat and fish. For this amount, he bought eight pounds of canned meat, six fresh fish and four small cans of fish. But he was practically the only person in the village who could spend at this rate and hence have protein as a steady diet for his household. A fisherman in Household B fished twice in this week, catching each time about twenty-five small fish, enough for two meals. The women in Household D concentrated on exploring the reef in such fashion that the household could enjoy reef-food for about

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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262 [226] half of its meals. Women in the other households were apparently not prepared or not able to spend any or much time on the reef.

[252] The staple fruit for all households at this time of the year is papaia, generally eaten after being baked in an oven. Oranges are beginning to ripen at this time but the villager is barely interested in them. Ripe bananas are reserved for feast-occasions and for possible export in order to increase the money-income of the household. One family in the village raises pineapples, but these are for export only.

[439] [434]

Chicken and pork figure but rarely in the day-to-day diet. They are reserved for feast-occasions. The average villager probably eats either or both about once a week or even more occasionally, depending upon the frequency of feast-opportunities.

264 178 Formerly, food was always eaten outside of the dwelling or sleeping-house. Today, this is still general practice. People eat in the cook-house, or under raised sun-shelters, or in the open air. Some few of the villagers, however, will sometimes serve a special feast inside the dwelling-house. There appears to be no particular reaction to this on the part of their guests although their forefathers of not many generations back would surely have felt horror if invited to enter a dwelling-house and there eat food.

262 264 121 114 In his study of the psychodynamics of Marquesan society,[13] Kardiner uses as one piece of evidence for the existence in the Marquesas of food-anxieties the fact that "notwithstanding the adequacy of techniques of and organization for production . . . there is first of all an over-valuation on eating itself, the emphasis falling on bulk and not on quality." Whatever the value of the other evidence that Kardiner adduces (cannibalism, *tapu* surrounding eating and cooking, etc.), one is inclined to suspect on the basis of this Tongan material that the facts of quantity-eating must be used with great caution when applied to a Polynesian people if inferences are to be drawn regarding fundamental food-anxieties in a Polynesian culture. In the first instance the Tongan tends to eat but one major meal

[13] Kardiner, A., *The Individual and His Society*, New York, 1939, 220.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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swimming-beaches lie within easy walking-distance. Yet young boys rarely learn to swim before the age of six or seven, and girls often much later. Younger children are often severely whipped for venturing to stroll unattended toward the nearest village beach. Yet the beach itself provides safe swimming at all tides. Elsewhere in Polynesia, by contrast, children of three are already fair swimmers and none, parents or children, seem to have that fear of the water which is characteristic of the Pangai villager.

This decay in the art of fishing can be paralleled in other aspects of village economic life. In bark-cloth-making for example, there is apparent a sort of technique atrophy which may be the prelude to slow death. Mariner describes a technique for making bark cloth at the beginning of the nineteenth century when the prepared cloth was baked in an earth oven and then spread out all night to be dampened by the dew before it was sun-dried on the next morning and packed away in bales. None of the villagers had heard of the use of this oven-baking or dew-dampening process even though Mariner says that it increases the durability and strength of the bark cloth. The lack of just these two qualities in their bark cloth worries the Tongans today, when they compare bark cloth with cotton piece-goods. They have evidently forgotten, therefore, two skills that might be used to improve the quality of the bark cloth for which they still have major use.

A somewhat similar atrophy is noticeable in the arts of cooking. Here the introduction of the kerosene-tin or the iron cooking-pot has meant the ever-increasing use of the simple technique of boiling and a progressive lack of interest in oven-baking. By comparison with oven-food, even the villager admits that boiled food is tastelessly sodden and lacks variety of flavour. We read out to Biukala some of the recipes that Mariner gave for preparing Tongan foods. Most of the recipes he had heard of by name, many he could cook himself. But he had to admit that few of the villagers had either the knowledge or the patience to prepare Tongan food according to these older methods. Whatever variety there is introduced into the food eaten today often comes from the addition of large amounts of cane sugar to mixtures of flour and water, or else from the use of tinned beef and

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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grave-pebbles and sand to decorate further the grave. On the tenth day, the close male relatives prepare a large feast to bring this mourning period to a close *(fakamalele ae putu)*. The food is kept until nightfall when all the young boys and girls in the village, all the unmarried youth, that is, from puberty onwards, are invited to come to the deceased's house there to dance, sing and be joyful. The older people sit drinking *kava* and watching the fun. After the first making of the *kava*, the feast is divided among all present, young and old. The merry-making and *kava*-drinking continue until an early hour in the next morning. Then the people gather up their food-divisions and return home. The period of mourning is over. Relatives return to their own villages, if they have come from afar. The everyday life of the village can renew itself.

765 602 765 602 574 276

For the death of an important individual in the village, this ten-day mourning-period is considered sufficient. During this time it is *tapu* for anyone in the village to sing, dance, or make bark cloth. For an important noble, the mourning-period may last for six months or more. The status of the deceased is shown by the length of his mourning-period and the consequent *tapu* on any joyful activities or on bark cloth making.

765 [784) 765 565 554 784

Semisi, the resident village undertaker *(ha'a tufunga)* is of no high social class. He inherited his skill from his father who was undertaker before him. Semisi would not attempt to embalm a body. He limits his job to the arrangement of the corpse in the house (if this is necessary) and to a general superintendence over the burial. For his services Semisi is paid with bark cloth, mats, and food. Semisi has the right to the honorific name of Manafa, a name conferred on him by the high chief Lepakuku of the village of Leimatua. This name not only increases Semisi's importance in the village—it is the name by which he is called in a *kava* circle—but it gives him the right to practice undertaking anywhere in Tonga. In other words, it makes him a sort of recognized member of the informal guild of Tongan undertakers. After each burial, Semisi is in a *tapu* state for two or three days. He eats by himself and does not take any part in food-preparation. An undertaker of the highest social class must

764 767 767 554 [784) [264) [252)

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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767 554 264 252 resign himself to eating alone all the days of his life.[25] His left-over food is always given to animals—it may never be eaten by another human. He may never cook for his wife or children. His food is always prepared for him.

858 766 [845] 553 [767] DEATH OF CHILDREN

An infant who dies at birth or is stillborn may be named, or not, according to the wish of the parents. It is buried in the village cemetery, by the parents themselves, without benefit of the undertaker's skill. A child is hardly important enough to merit calling in the undertaker. The difference in pattern between the death ceremonial for the adult as just described, and that for a young child is well brought out by the following notes on the death of an eight months old infant.

766 858 593 603 This infant, Kuli by name, suffered from a fever for five days then died suddenly at noon, in his mother's mother's house. Present at the death were the mother, the mother's mother, and the mother's mother's sister, the latter two being very old women, partially blind and crippled. An unrelated woman passerby heard the first death wail from the mother. She went inside the house and found the dead baby cupped on the weeping mother's lap. The woman closed the baby's eyes and left. Outside the house sat the infant's father. A three-year-old sister of the infant is sent crying from the house to join her father. The mother soon leaves the house of death to go to her own house to fetch the laying-out mats and bark cloth. The mother's brother's daughter arrives and commences to clean and sweep the death-house. The half-senile mother's mother begins to talk to arriving mourners who have difficulty in suppressing laughter at the

[178] [184] [25] Formerly, according to Gifford (*Tongan Society*, pp. 196-198), a commoner was most likely to be buried by a relative. "Nowadays even commoners are buried by the *haatufunga*." Gifford also notes that after a burial, an undertaker could not feed himself for five, ten, or fifteen days, the period of *tapu* depending upon the rank of the deceased. Information in the text above that the Pangai undertaker eats by himself for two or three days, probably represents a modern variation on the more complete *tapu* of not eating with the hands. Information that the highest-class undertakers eat by themselves all the days of their lives probably represents village belief only. There is no mention of this extreme *tapu* in the pages of Gifford.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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At the present stage of technical development in the social sciences, an index of acculturation is still to be dreamed about, not worked with. A brief survey of the present culture of Pangai village might well suggest that some such cultural elements as the following would come within the scope of such an index. First of all, it is easy to see that there has been more cultural transference in the field of material culture than is obvious in social organization. Even with material culture, however, many distinctions have to be drawn before it is all clear what has been transferred from the alien culture. Thus many non-aboriginal foods are cultivated today—corn, melons, tomatoes, and the like. But compared with the use of aboriginal staple vegetables, such imported foods play a non-significant role in day to day eating and have gained little significance as prestige foods for feast-purposes. In the preparation of foods, the process of cooking by boiling has been developed with the importation of kerosene-tins. Boiled food is quicker to prepare than oven-baked food. Hence there is a tendency to eat boiled food much of the time, using the native oven whenever something a little out of the ordinary is desired. In the technique of eating, there is wide use of a few simple plates, dishes, and cups, but transferring food from container to mouth is still done with the fingers. In the use of foods, therefore, the present culture illustrates a blend of new and old. How much of each is involved is difficult to characterize with any simplicity of statement.

The position is similar with regard to clothing. There is today an extensive use of clothing materials derived from European culture. The village women all wear dresses. All the men at one time or another wear cotton shirts, but for most purposes and occasions as a lower garment they have borrowed the use of cotton materials which they use as a skirt *(vala)*, thus following aboriginal practice in the style of the garment. For ceremonial or out-of-the-ordinary occasions both sexes wear either in place of, or on top of the ordinary lower garment, a fine mat skirt together with a belt of plaited coconut sennit *(ta'ovala)*. In dressing up for special church occasions, deacons or lay-preachers almost invariably try to wear the white man's suit, shirt, sox, and shoes, though none of the village men would wear any of

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

were produced, and in a few moments a large fire was heating the stones in the middle of the cave's floor, and sending up a thick column of smoke to the leafy chimney in the roof. When the stones were red-hot and the oven was ready for its lining, the same invisible hand, in obedience to Finau's shout, poured through the hole a shower of green branches and banana-leaves, that fluttered down like the ruins of Klingsor's garden. The chickens and yams were soon baking in the steam of the leaves, buried under a foot of soil. Picnics such as this are to the idle young Tongan one of the highest forms of earthly happiness.

Fonos and addresses to the Civil servants had done something towards allaying suspicion and discontent in Vavau, in spite of the strenuous efforts of Mr Baker's son and the other Europeans to foster hostility to the Government. The result of the Governor's misconduct in accepting coin in payment of taxes had been to pour into the empty local treasury between £2000 and £3000 in silver. Seeing that the cow-faced sub-treasurer, in addition to his other delinquencies, reported that £6 had miraculously vanished from a saucer in which he guarded the public funds, though the fastenings of the treasury were intact, it was plainly time to remove the whole sum to a place where it could be employed in liquidating the debts of the country rather than those of the local officials. There was a strange display of emotion among the treasury clerks when I announced my intention. The Customs officer, an Englishman, enlightened me. The nobles of Vavau were Home Rulers to a man, at least in so far as their money was concerned. They held that every dollar-

16: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1921 OU9 Tonga OU9

god of carrying away, or who carries away, but I have heard no reason for his being thus dubbed. His sacred animal was the pretty little blue and green lizard called by the Tongans *pili*.

Tau-ki-bulotu was the god of Haa-Mene-uli, a part of Niutoua, in the east of Tongatabu. No sacred animal is known, the deity manifesting himself through his priestess, Teletele.

Vai-uka also had his seat near Niutoua, but across the border in the Tui Tonga district of Labaha (same word as the Fijian Lambasa). He was the god of the Haa-Mofuta. Mofuta will be remembered as occurring in the name of a neighbouring deity, Mofuta-ne-ta'u.

This god had no special temple, but the priest was consulted in his own home. There was, however, a sacred grove near which becoming silence must be preserved. The hard black volcanic pebbles, valued on account of their durability as heating stones for the ovens, and also used in the adornment of graves, were sacred to him, and the ground within the grove was strewn with these votive offerings. These pebbles must of course be brought from one of the distant volcanic islands. Vai Uka was much resorted to by the sick. The priest stroked the seat of affliction with the happiest results. It is not clear how far these cures can claim to be supernatural, as such soothing massage is still a regular part of Tongan medical practice. The god's pharmacopœia is strongly parallel too to the healing art of mere mortals in its employment of a liniment whose manufacture and use are far from being divine secrets.

Tui Olotau, King of Olotau, god of Olotau, the piece of ground on which stands the well-known trilithon, the Haamonga-a-Maui (The Burden carried on the Shoulders of Maui), in the eastern part of Tongatabu. His sacred animal was the sea-snake, which is also connected with Hemoana. If a sea-snake were seen ashore the people knew that it was no ordinary sea-snake, but the god.

The *kalae*, a rail sacred to the Tui Tonga. I have not been able to find out the name of the inspiring deity. The worshippers of this bird used to take about with them a bunch of *kalae*, and, as already mentioned, the priest had one of these bunches tattooed on his throat.

This bird's crying at night was an omen of death, and in this connection he was called by the sinister name of *Fata*, the Bier. The home near which he was heard would be the scene of death, and as he flew away the direction from which his note was heard was an indication of the situation of the cemetery in which the dead would be buried. Either through a strange coincidence, or through this bird being in some way attracted by serious illness, the monotonous cry of the *kalae* in unusual numbers added to the dreariness of the nights in November, 1918, when the whole of Nukualofa was filled with the sick and dying, struck down by the wave of pneumonic influenza.

21: Simkin U-5 (no date) 1945 OU9 Tonga OU9

next most important cause of death, followed by pneumonia and typhoid. Venereal disease is far from being a health problem. The most disturbing feature of Tonga's health is the high infant mortality rate of 8.7 per cent, even although it is a bit lower than the Maori rate. Unhygienic confinements, and a sudden transition from breast feeding to an insufficiently modified variant of the adult diet seem to be the main causes of infant deaths.

The traditional Tongan diet had developed a strong people, healthy enough in their own environment, but lacking resistance to European diseases, and more particularly to tuberculosis and epidemic diseases like measles and influenza. The current diet does not depart much from former standards, but where it does the change is not for the better. Tongans are too fond of white flour and tinned meat, which only accentuate the deficiencies of their diet in regard to protective food elements. A lack of iron lowers resistance to disease as well as predisposing the people to anaemia and yaws. Vitamins are deficient, especially A and C, so that scurvy, hookworm and pyorrhœa are far too prevalent.

Milk and fresh meat would do much to remedy these deficiencies but we have seen that livestock are both scarce and poor. Here is another and a powerful argument for the development of animal husbandry, but more than this would be needed to remedy the situation. Tongans have a marked prejudice against drinking milk, and while they have no such prejudice against meat, they invariably overcook it to make it tender enough to eat without forks and knives. There would have to be intensive education in dietetics and cooking, as well as a flourishing livestock industry, before the Tongans made proper use of meat and milk.

Housing

Housing, unfortunately, is by no means satisfactory, despite the simplicity and cheapness of building a home in Tonga. About one-third of the houses are neat wooden cottages with glass windows and iron roofs, built at a cost of about £80 in the palmy days of high copra prices. The depressed condition of the copra market has not only brought this type of building to a standstill but has prevented most Tongans from keeping their cottages in proper repair. Even so they are markedly superior, at least from the standpoint of health, to the usual *fale*. This type of dwelling is cheap—at the most £10 to

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

237 534 202 off in different directions, sounding these trumpet-shells, for the warning and guidance of the lost fishermen, should they have survived the storm.

226 262 A goodly variety of the more common edible shell-fish, supplies the natives with one of their principal daily articles of diet. Cockles and whelks are plentiful, in some localities, and are cooked in a variety of ways, so as to be made very palatable even to an epicure.

Crustaceous animals, such as shrimps, prawns, cray-fish, lobsters, and crabs, are abundant in different islands, and they are sought after and esteemed by the natives as articles of food. Several sorts of sea-slugs are also eaten, and among these the *bêche-de-mer* of commerce; but it is only found in small quantities, and of inferior size to those so argely obtained in Fiji. The cuttle-fish, or *feke*, as it is called in Tonguese, so despised by the fishermen on our English coasts, is by them very highly esteemed. Indeed, a dish of *vaihu feke*, or cuttle-fish soup, well prepared by a Tonguese cook, would [252] make even a Soyer envious, and would, undoubtedly, call forth a whole chapter of flowery eloquence fully to describe its merits.

A great variety of fish contributes extensively to the daily support of the islanders. Of the larger sorts that are eaten by them, we may name the albicore, bonito, ray, sword-fish, and shark. There is, besides, a good assortment of rock-fish. These 226 different kinds of fish are taken by lines, nets, and spearing, in all of which modes of fishing the people are ingenious and expert. The favourite method, however, with the Tonguese, is that of fishing with nets. In the manufacture of different descriptions of these, they equal any civilized

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

crowd of people, some in canoes, and still more swimming and wading in the water, making merry over the captives, and spearing any of the larger fish that seemed likely to escape, or were behaving with unbecoming rudeness to any of their weaker companions in tribulation. Amid much shouting, and many pleasant jokes, the whole of the motley fraternity were safely secured; and, being easily obtained when the tide had ebbed away, they were speedily distributed among the several owners of the nets and canoes.

The true sperm whale, and other species of the cetaceous mammals, are often observed in the neighbourhood of the islands. Dolphins and porpoises abound; but they are not sought after by the people. Sharks, however, are numerous, and these are caught in considerable numbers by hooks, or, more commonly still, by a simple bait, and a running noose. In all great feasts, the presence of as many sharks as can be obtained, is considered to be an indispensable requisite. They are always cooked entire, whatever may be their size; and they are enclosed in a long basket made from the cocoa-nut leaf. The flesh of a young shark, when about four feet long, is exceedingly good eating. One of the largest of these monsters we ever saw, was caught from the deck of the Mission ship "John Wesley," when at anchor in Vavau harbour. It measured nearly eighteen feet in length; and, when opened, was found to contain sixteen young sharks, just about to be spawned. It was what is called a ground shark, having double rows of upper and lower teeth, each separate tooth being as sharp as a lancet.

Turtle do not abound so plentifully in the Friendly

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

slightly pink farinaceous flesh. The best sorts surpass the finest pear in excellency of flavour. These are eaten raw, or they may be baked, or stewed, according to fancy. The Chinese dwarf banana, (*Musa coccinea*, or *M. Chinensis*,) was introduced only a few years since, and has already been widely spread through the islands. The fruit is of a very delicate flavour, and the stem of this species not being more than four feet high, it is much better able to endure the periodical gales that level to the ground all the taller sorts. It has, consequently, become a great favourite with the people, and will, probably, supplant many of the others entirely.

No use has yet been made, by the Tonguese, of the stem of this tree, in the manufacture of cordage, as is the practice in Manilla and elsewhere. Its leaves, however, serve for several useful purposes. One leaf can be readily fashioned, in a few minutes, into at least half-a-dozen drinking cups; while by gently heating an entire leaf over a fire, through which it is rendered at once pliable and tough, wrappers can be made in which to bake fowls so as to retain their gravy, or in which even fish-soup can be cooked without any loss of the liquid. Indeed, we have frequently seen a banana-leaf bag, containing a gallon, or more, of cocoa-nut oil, that had been carried safely therein for many miles. Portions of the juicy stem of the tree are always brought, at the conclusion of a meal, to be used by the guests, instead of soap and water, in cleansing the fingers, after these have performed the duties of knife and fork. It does this very effectively, when well shredded, by rubbing between the hands.

Among other edible fruits of Tonga may be

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

reckoned the following, which, being now well known, it is not necessary we should more minutely describe. Foremost is the bread-fruit. (*Artocarpus incisa.*) Of this fruit there are said to be at least fifty varieties. Those common to Tonga are known under the generic name of *Mei*, with distinctive appellatives attached to that word descriptive of the different kinds. This fruit, in addition to being eaten, cooked in the usual native fashion, either boiled or baked, is also made into *ma* or bread. The fruit is beaten up, and incorporated with the sweet banana, and scraped cocoa-nut. It is then divided into small balls, or portions, which are buried in a large mass underground, there to undergo fermentation. The *ma* is left buried for many months, after which it is fit for food, and will keep, if not exposed to the air, for a long time. When the *ma*-pit is opened, a very strong and disagreeable odour gives intimation of the fact, to a considerable distance: while the bread itself, to a European palate, is even less acceptable than the black bread of Russia. In taste it resembles what a mixture of barley-bread and rotten cheese might be supposed to be. It is nevertheless very nutritive, and is a good resource in seasons of famine, and in times of war.

The papaw-apple, (*Carica papaya,*) or *oliji*, abounds. There are also great quantities of shaddocks, oranges, limes, citrons, and lemons, all of which are included in the general name of *Moli*.

Several sorts of pine-apple grow in the highest perfection and abundance. They require no particular care in their cultivation; and, the ground being so rich, the suckers need not be removed, but may be allowed to run to fruit as well as the parent plant.

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

from whence their fighting excursions were made. 712
In besieging such places, they well understood the 725
method of approaching by trenches, and rifle-pits, defended by earthworks and strong stockades. They were also well versed in the science of 723
strategy, and knew no mercy to the vanquished 727
who fell into their hands. The contending parties 726
seldom met in a general engagement. The strife was usually a series of skirmishes. Those taken in 727
war, whose lives were spared, became the *bobulas*, or slaves, of the conquerors; and these were often treated with the most refined and horrible cruelty, at the caprice of their proprietor.

In times of peace, the men were fully occupied 462
in the various pursuits of agriculture, fishing, sinnet-plaiting, canoe and house building, and, above all, in voyaging. The women devoted themselves to the unceasing manufacture of the *fetaaki*, (287)
or white beaten bark, of which the native cloth was made, and to the completion of the process in those *kokaagas*, or united gatherings of the female sex, where the cloth was fashioned into one immense piece, and then printed in brown and black colours, according to the fancy of the maker. The women did no field or house drudgery in the Friendly Islands. They never even cooked the (252)
victuals of the family, that being always the duty of the men. In addition to the manufacture of *gatu*, or native cloth, their chief work was to bring water from the wells; make all the sleeping and wearing mats for both sexes; also baskets and bags for various purposes, and any other little nick-nacks for household use. Feasts, dances, 517
games, wrestling matches, and canoe races, filled up much of the time of the people. Some of these

39 Gerstle & Raitt C.Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974
0U9 Tonga 0U9

142
291
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Kuinita expertly prepares a delectable, popular Tongan dish called *lu pulu*, which consists of corned beef and onions in a rich coconut cream sauce, wrapped in taro leaves and steamed in the underground oven at 'Oholei.

'Oku kei manakoa 'aupito e kai 'umu 'i Tonga. Ko e ta eni 'o Kuinita 'i 'Oholei lolotonga 'ene kofu ha lu pulu.

252

Suckling pigs being roasted by Ta'a for a feast at 'Oholei Beach.

Puaka tunu . . . Ko e ki'i talavou eni ko Ta'a 'oku fai 'ene tunu puaka ki ha kaime'akai na'e fai 'i he matatahi ko 'Oholei.

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nukuleka

MACHIKO AOYAGI

If a man attends church service regularly and keeps on doing good, he will be allowed to be called *lotu fefui* (catechumen), and if he can keep on having a good record a few years more, he will be elevated to the status of *malanga*. A few excellent men among the *malanga* may be promoted to *faifekau* by the church president.[14] It is a great honour and much respected to become *malanga* or *faifekau*.

Fakaafe for the New Year

The last day of the year, it is said, is the most important day for the Tongan. On this day, the members of the Free Wesleyan Church, the Free Church of Tonga and the Church of Tonga have *fakaafe*, a feast, thanking God for the peace of the past year and praying for the happiness of the coming year. Each *malanga* is invited to one *fakaafe* to say a grace. After the feast, a *malanga* is presented with a bark cloth and a *sisi* (ornamented girdle or waist band or festoon made of flowers and leaves) by the host. It is a great honour for anyone to give *fakaafe* on this occasion. This privilege is conferred upon him by the steward of the church. In this village, eight men, (4, 6, 14, 16, 29 - steward, 30, 32, 34) in the Free Wesleyan Church and four men (2, 18, 26, 27) in the Free Church of Tonga have been privileged to give *fakaafe* for many years. Some of their kinsmen who help to make *umu* (food cooked in an earth oven) are then invited to share the joy of the feast. This occasion offers us a good opportunity to observe kinship functioning. The details of the feast are as follows:

TABLE 8 — *Fakaafe*

Household number	Those who prepared food	Those who took a meal together	Food served
4	the members of his household only	32 (*malanga*), 8 and his wife, The household members.	4 pieces of yam, 3 of *kape* (*Alocasia macrorrhiza*), 20 of sweet potato, 12 fish, 1 pig, 2 chickens, etc.
6	his son and 12	30 (*malanga*), 5. The household members.	10 pieces of yam, 2 of *kape*, 1 basket of sweet potato, some fish, 1 pig, 4 pounds of canned beef, 4 pounds of canned mutton etc.
14	two of his friends, the members of his household	28 (*malanga*), 20, a woman from another village.	6 pieces of yam, 2 of *kape*, 20 of sweet potato, 12 fish, 1 pig, 3 chickens, 12 pounds of canned beef.

14. Rank differentiation in the different churches varies a little.

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 0U9 Tonga 0U9
Nukuleka

MACHIKO AOYAGI

The father is privileged to choose the name giver for his children. The first born baby, regardless of sex, is always named by the father's relations, with a special preference to the father's sister, irrespective of residence. Since the second and the subsequent children are inferior in birth significanc to the first baby, the father may then grant a maternal relative's desire to name a child.

VII — Weddings and Funerals

The rank of individuals among *famili* is emphasised on ceremonial occasions such as weddings[21] and funerals. I will describe these ceremonial procedures from the view-point of kinship behaviour.

A boy tells his love to a girl, and if she agrees, he will ask his parents' consent. If they do, he or his father goes to an old man closely related to him to ask his favour of becoming *matapule*. Then he with the boy makes a formal visit, *faitohi*, to the girl's house, taking some *kava teletele* (big roots of *kava*). On *faitohi*, *matapule* tells her father that the boy eagerly wishes to marry the girl. When her father is ready to accept their proposal, he consults with her elder brother or *ulu i famili* as soon as possible. And if he agrees to the matter (and generally the *ulu i famili* will not object), the people concerned confirm the girl's will. The marriage is now arranged. The *kava teletele* brought by the *matapule* is prepared, around which the *matapule* and the girl's parents sit to drink. The first cup of kava is taken to the *ulu i famili* on the girl's side, the second to the *matapule*, the third to anyone present. A few weeks later after *faitohi* the wedding takes plaec.

In the afternoon of the day before the wedding-day, the boy's father cooks *umu* and roast pigs to be given to the girl's family. At the sunset, the girl dresses up in formal wear such as *fihu*, *kei* (both, a kind of mat) and *ngatu* (bark cloth). Inside her house is nicely arranged, bark cloths and mats over the floor. Then the boy in formal dress comes with his followers. The *fakalelea mali* begins now. The bride and the groom sit respectively on the laps of their *fa'e tangata*. Sometimes *fakafeangai*, attendants, of the bride and the groom may sit beside them. On this occasion the first *kava* cup is taken by the bride,[22] then by the groom. If they do not want to drink, the *fakafeangai* may drink it in place of them. Drinking *kava*, and eating *fono* (*kava* relish, such as bread, pork and puddings of various kinds, etc.), they spend the time cheerfully chatting until next morning. When *faikava* is nearly over, the bridegroom and his followers take off their clothes to give them to the bride and her family. Through excess of joy, sometimes, they strip themselves of even their trousers and shirts. The bride's people bring bark cloths and clothes to cover them. The bride also takes off her dress to give to the partner.

On the morning of the wedding, they go to the town for registration. Usually they hire two motor cars which they decorate with *kie*. The bride and the bridegroom ride separately with each of their *fa'e tangata*. Other

21. Collocott 1928: 221-5., Bengtsohn 1941: 91-98., Koch 1966: 78-81.
22. Collocott writes that the bride who is the chief of this occasion takes the third cup, that is the chief cup. A middle-aged woman told me that the first cup was the chief one.

MACHIKO AOYAGI

brother. S asked a man (P) of next door as *matapule*, who was his father's father's brother's son. On the Friday evening, P with S went to K's house for *faitohi*, taking *kava teletele* and a can of biscuits which was prepared by S's mother. K's father had expected their coming and told that it depends on K's wishes. He called his classificatory brother T to his house and explained the proposal. T also replied that she might do as she pleased. Then K was called and asked her own wishes. She was affirmative. Sitting at the corner of the house, S had been keeping silence all the time. Then *faikava* started with *kava teletele* brought by *matapule* P. *Kava* was prepared by K. Her parents, her sister, her *ulu i famili* T, and *matapule* P attended the *faikava*. The cup was offered to her *ulu i famili*, then to the *matapule*. During *kava* they talked and settled several things. They decided not to exchange *koloa* between the two families, but to give them to the young couple, and so on. The date for the wedding had been already chosen by S and K on next Wednesday. 584 584 276 574

On Tuesday evening S's father made *umu* and brought it with fifty loaves of bread to K's house. Afterwards, S proceeded with many of his relations and friends to this house. His parents, who did not accompany him, came to the banquet place just to peep into the inside of the house and soon went back. Of course, the brothers of the bride as well as the sisters of the groom were not allowed to join the meeting. *Kava* was made by a girl, one of the groom's relatives. The bride was seated on the lap of her mother's brother, Sona, who came from the next village. The groom sat on the lap of his mother's mother's brother's son, Ta. The first cup went to the bride and the next for the groom, but the order of the subsequent cups was not remembered. The arrangement of the seats was not fixed. A number of relations and friends sat round the outside of the house, drinking *kava*, singing and dancing. The next morning after a sleepless yet joyous night the groom and Ta took off their clothes, *ngafi ngafi* and *fihu*, and gave them to the bride. On the other hand, the bride and Sona gave their dresses, *fihu* and bark cloth to the groom. About noon, the party marched to Nuku'alofa for the registration, riding on two motor cars and motor lorries covered with *fihu*. The bride with her *fa'e tangata* and the groom with his father's elder brother, So. On their way back to the home village the newly married couple rode together in the same car. The fee for those cars and lorries was paid half and half by the fathers of the couple. 585 585 276 574 585

In the afternoon *katoanga mali* was held at So's place. The groom's father made *umu* with many pigs including one *puaka toho*, most of which were prepared by himself, but a few were offered by T and P (*matapule faitohi*). The bride's father also made *umu*, cooking one *puaka toho*, one *puaka hula* (a larger pig), and few *puaka haano* (a small pig), all of which were prepared by himself. On the *faikava* at *katoanga mali* T, who was a very old man and *ulu i famili* of the bridegroom's father, acted as *matapule* to direct the order of *kava* cup. (Fig. 5). The young couple sat on the laps of the same person as in the *fakalelea mali*. The first *kava* cup went to the bride, the second to a man, her relative. An elder sister of her father hit the *tua*, dorsal part, of *puaka toho* and got it for herself. 585 252 585 276 574

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

On the 10th Feenough dined on
262 board as indeed he did every day, after we had dined some of his
412 servants brought on board a mess for him, it consisted of fish soup and
634 yams; the fish and soup was brought off in a Plantain leafe. Instead of
648 common water to make the soup they had made use of Cocoanut
water in which the fish had been boiled or stewed; this was probably
252 done in a wooden vessel with hot stones. I tasted of it and found it so
good that I had afterwards fish dress'd the same way and found it
very good though my Cook did not come up to theres.

122 SUNDAY 11*th*. Finding that we had quite exhausted the island of all
most every thing it produced I this day got every thing off from the
[634] shore, intending as soon as the Discovery had recovered her best
[648] bower anchor, to proceed to an island called Happi,[1] laying to the NE
where Feenough told me I should meet with every thing I wanted
and strongly importuned me to go thither before I visited Tongatabu.

Mon. 12 The 12th and 13th was spent in recovering the Discoveries Anchor
Tues. 13 Wed. 14 which was at last accomplished[2] and on the 14th in the Morning we
weighed anchor and steered for Aghao,[3] with a view of passing to the
NW of the small islands that lay to the North and NE of Anamocka,[4]
[634] as I could not be assured of a passage amongst them. Feenough and
[648] some others remained on board till near noon when they embarked
in a Canoe and stood in amongst [the] islands.[5] At 4 PM being the
length of Ogodoo[6] we steered to the north, leaving Omattafoa[7] and
Aghao on our larboard, keeping along the West side of a reef of rocks
which lay to the westward of Ogodoo, till we came to their no[r]thern
extremity round which we hauled in for the island with a design to
anchor for the night, but it came upon us before we could find a place
in less than 55 fathom water, and rather than come to in this depth I
choose to spend the night under sail.

[1] Ha'apai is the penultimate northerly group of Tonga, not a single island. Clerke got it as 'henua Arpi': 'henua' = conventional Tongan *fonua*, *cf.* Tahitian *fenua*, Maori *whenua*. He adds, '. . . the word Arpi I find in their Language bespeaks a cluster or Group of any thing wherever it is applied'.—17 May. Here he has, quite intelligibly, been confused by another word, '*api* '*api*, which means crowded or full (as of a road or a basket).

[2] 'On Tuesday Afternoon chiefly by means of some Oyl thrown on the Water which renderd the Surface so smooth that the Anchor was seen at the bottom altho' in 17 fathoms, and the position in which it lay discoverd.'—Edgar, 8 May.—'This Anchor may in the course of the Voyage be of such Consequence that I am determin'd nothing but a conviction of an impossibility of getting it, shall send me away without it.'—Clerke, 10 May.

[191] [3] Kao, the beautiful cone-peaked island, 3,380 feet high and thus a prominent mark, two miles NNE of Tofua. It lies due west of Ha'ano, the most northerly of the bigger islands of the Ha'apai group.

[4] The low islands of the Kotu or Ha'apai Lulunga group, small, scattered, but linked up with dangerous reefs, shoals, rocks and breaking seas, and without good anchorage. For Cook's complicated track about this group and Ha'apai see Fig. 5.

[502] [5] '. . . thier rate of sailing was about 3 feet to our 2, and in turning to windward they sailed above a point nearer to the wind than our Ships when sharp trimmed.'—Burney.

[6] Kotu, the westernmost island of its group. [7] Tofua.

[103] A [See category 102 , p. 104--Analyst]

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

the family sleep on the floor where ever they please to lay down, the unmarried Men and women each by themselves, or if the family is large they have small huts without to which they retire to sleep, so that privacy is as much observed here as one can expect. They have mats made on purpose to sleep upon, and the clothes that they wear in the day, serve them for covering in the night. Their whole furniture consists in a bowl or two in which they make the Cava, a few gourds, Cocoa nut shells, and some small wooden Stools which serve them for pillows and and perhaps a large Stool for the Master of the family.

Food and Cookery Their food and Cookery have been so often mentioned that it is almost needless to add any thing further, Yams and Vegetables makes the greatest part of their food, nay I beleive yams alone does, these they cultivate with much labour and have them in very great perfection. Fish is prefered to hogs[1] and poultry which are the only tame animals they have except dogs; nor is there any wild animals except rats and birds. Thier food is dressed generally by baking in the same manner as at Otahiete, and they have the art of making from different kinds of fruit several dishes which most of us esteemed very good. I never saw them make use of any kind of Sauce, nor drink any thing at their meals, but water or the juice of the coca-nut for the Cava is always drank in a morning. I cannot say they are cleanly either in their Cookery or eating, the generallity of them will lay their victuals upon the first leafe they meet with be it dirty or clean but the Chiefs have their victuals generally served up on green plantain leaves. When the King made [a] meal he was for the most part attended upon by three or four persons, one cut large pieces of the joint or fish, whatever it was, a another cut it into mouthfuls and others stood by with Cocoanuts and what else he might want.[2] I never saw a large company sit down to what we would call a sociable meal, that is to all eat from the same dish; the Victuals, be what it will is always divided in to portions,

wide, clean & cool, we had the Glimpse in many of the inclosures of pretty young women, which convinced us that their principal ladies were kept out of our sight, as they were very shy. . . . In the inside of the dwelling houses, are matts spread on the Ground; & a thick upright mat work 2 or 3 feet high which incloseed a Circular space for the Master & Mistress to sleep in, in the Night; & the principal women are fond of sitting within this kind of fender or skreen in the day time out of doors.'

[1] The point here rather is that hogs were forbidden to commoners. All the land and its products being regarded as the property of the Tu'i Tonga, he, and chiefs deriving their precedence from him, had priority over the mere *tua*. All pigs over a certain size were *tapu* except for chiefs: even their 'owners' could not consume them. The same rule applied to large fishes, which had to be handed over on pain of severe punishment.

[2] These persons were *matapule*, officials of near-chiefly status, though not chiefs, who were appointed for the purpose.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 0U9 Tonga 0U9

It rests upon a narrow base, the upper part projecting very considerably, and is cover'd with E Toá and Pandanus trees. At night there was a vast number of lights along shore to the westward which we suppos'd was the Indians fishing.

SATURDAY 28th. The morning calm but afterwards brisk breezes from WNW with fine weather till the evening, when it veer'd to the Soward with drizzling rain. The people employ'd as usual.

Few Canoes off and all the Indians have left the place near the tent except a few villains who are very troublesome & constantly endeavouring to commit some petty theft. They were so audacious as to throw cocoa nuts at some of our people (which however might in a great measure be imputed to their own imprudence in admitting these people to childish Libertys with them at first) and threaten them with clubs, for which we seizd three of them, tied them to trees and flogg'd them very severely, afterwards cutting a large cross in the arm of one with a knife which was certainly the least excusable part of the punishment. One of them was also fird at in the morning for some flagrant attempt of the same kind by a centinel, who certainly hit him, as he was seen to be supported by several others after crossing the small creek near the place.

SUNDAY 29th. The wind E. Moderate breezes with good weather. The people unemploy'd.

MONDAY 30th. The wind . Gentle breezes with dull close weather and some small rain the afternoon.

Two of us went along with Futta'faihe as visitors to his house which is at Mooa very near his brother Poulahos. A short time after we arriv'd they kill'd a pretty large hog which is done by repeated strokes on the head, and scrap'd the hair off very dexterously with the sharp edge of pieces of split Bamboo, taking the entrails out at a large oval hole cut in the belly by the same simple instrument. Before this they had prepar'd an oven which is a large hole dug in the earth, fill'd at the bottom with stones about the size of the fist, over which a fire is made till they are red hot. They took some of these stones wrap'd up in leaves of the bread fruit tree and fill'd the Hogs belly, stuffing in a quantity of leaves to prevent their falling out and put a plug of the same kind in the Anus. It was then put on some sticks laid across the stones in a standing posture and cover'd with a great quantity of Plantane leaves, after which they dug up the earth all round and coverd it closely up, leaving it to bake in that manner. In the mean time we walk'd about the country, but met with nothing

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

rains hard in the day they are guided by the swell of the sea & wind. 484
As another proof of the distance or at least of the stay they make at [502]
some places, they always carry a considerable quantity of Cloath, [821]
matts &c and provisions, the last of which they dress on a sort of
hearth made of sand & stones plac'd near the fore part of the stage. [252]
The number of people, amongst which are always several women, 505
being at least four times more than is sufficient to Navigate the Boat
implys some other business, though perhaps it may be for the relief of 461
each other: for here as in all other cases there seems to be such a
perfect unity amongst them that when they are oblig'd to paddle 533
from a calm or any other accident, the whole crew and rowers them-
selves join in songs and a musical recitative to give an agreement to
their strokes and ease the irksomness of that unvaried labour.

The only tools they have to make these boats are Hatchets, or 412
rather thick Adzes, of the smooth black stone mentioned before (but
some want the projecting part behind), an augur made of a sharks 321
tooth fix'd on a small handle, and a rasp of a rough fishes skin laid 237
over & fastend on a flat piece of wood thinner on one side with a
handle. The vast labour they must be at and the time that is spent 346
with their [boats], being perhaps their most perfect mechanical
production, are probably the reasons for being so carefull of them, 348
for they are built and preserv'd under long shades of two sides which
reach to the ground & incline towards the top, so that the ends which
are both open represent a half ellipsis on its base; but when that
cannot be done they always cover the deck'd part with Cocoa leaves
after they are haul'd on shore to prevent the sun hurting them.

The same tools are all they have for other works, if we except 412
different shells which they use as knives, but there are few that [237]
require these unless it is some of their weapons, the other articles
being chiefly their fishing materials, cordage and a few others. The
Cordage is made from the fibres of the Cocoa nut husk, which though 283
not more than nine or ten inches long they plait about the size of a 824
quill or less to any length they please, & roll it up in balls from which
the larger rop[e]s are made by many of these being tied together and
twisted. The lines they fish with are made from the [1] 226
and are as strong and even as the best cord we make, resembling it [283]
almost in every respect. Their other things for that purpose are large
and small hooks, made with a pretty straight back and a point fix'd
on the inside near the end. The last are made entirely of pearl shell, [321]
but the first only coverd on the back with it, & the points of both [391]
commonly of tortoise shell, those of the small being plain the others

[1] Tou, not the *Melochia* but *Pipturus argenteus*, widely used for this purpose in the Pacific.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

352 stiff kind of mat that stands by itself & forms a low partition, which is
[285 also us'd to hang around the part of the house open to the wind in
[513 bad weather. Women of consequence sometimes sit in their houses
[562 in the day surrounded or enclos'd with one of these mats, seemingly
[565 with no other intention than to indicate their superior rank. They
seem to have no set time for meals (though it should be observ'd that
264 during our stay amongst these people their domestic œconomy seems
much disturb'd from their constant attention to us), for the better
276 sort only drink Kava in the forenoon and the others eat perhaps a bit
512 of Yam; but we have commonly seen them eat sometime in the
afternoon, and it would appear that the practice of making a meal in
the night is pretty common as their rest being disturbd in the night
makes them frequently sleep in the day, although they go to bed as
262 soon as dusk at night and get up at dawn in the morning. The
greatest part of their Vegetable diet is Yams, Plantanes and Cocoa
nuts: of their animal food the chief is hogs, fowls, fish, all sorts of shell
fish, and the lower people eat rats. The two first articles with bread
fruit are what may be call'd the basis of their food, which they have
at different times of the year with fish and shell fish, for hogs, fowls
252 & turtle seem only to be ate occasionally by the better people. The
intervals between the season of these things must be sometimes
considerable, as they prepare a sort of artificial bread from plantanes
which they put under ground before ripe, and suffer them to remain
till they ferment, when they are taken out & made up into small
balls, but so sour & indifferent that they often said our bread was
262 preferable though somewhat musty.[1] They also use great quantitys of
the Nuts call'd E'eefee at these times, which is coarser and less
agreeable than our Chesnuts.

252 The method of dressing these things is entirely in the kind of oven
[415 us'd to bake the hogs with, but they sometimes roast the Vegetables
[177 on an open fire, and though they have a few earthen globular pots
they get them from Feejee and are never apply'd to that purpose.
They are as yet almost strangers to the thousand destructive luxurys
which cookery has invented, but nevertheless have a few artificial
dishes, such as a soft pudding made of Talo and other roots with
Cocoa nut scrap'd into it,[2] which gives an agreeable smoothness to
262 every thing dress'd with it. There is also another very palatable sort
in which is put aromatic leaves as seasoning, and they prepare a dish

[1] This, if accurately observed, is a variation on what Mariner, II, p. 200, calls 'Ma me; fermented breadfruit'. Churchward pleasantly defines *ma* as 'a kind of ensilage (but for human consumption)'; *mei* is breadfruit. Anderson in his own vocabulary explains 'Maa' as 'A sour plantain, by being put underground'.

[2] *po'oi*.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

They bathe themselves about Sunrising either in the small Pools or in the Sea. In the Morning Parties meet together who form a ring & sing to the beat of Drum & drink Kava after which they eat baked yams or breadfruit. They dine about noon generally upon baked yams & breadfruit with Puddings made of Plantains, & sometimes the better sort have Pork but more commonly Fish, drinking water with it which they seem to prefer in general to the Cocoa nut milk, not caring so much for that as the meat of the nut. The Chiefs are served at their meals with much Parade, a single yam being often brought on a pole between two men so that a dinner consisting of a dozen or two of yams, some parcels of baked Fish, Plantains, Cocoa nuts & shells of water & the plantain Leaves for a table Cloth will employ 30 or 40 people. Their method of Cooking differs in nothing material from that of Otaheite which has been amply described in Capt[n] Cook's first Voyage to that Island. About sunset they play upon their Flutes, sing or sit in discourse with their Women before their Houses; after dark they light Torches in their Houses by which they sit and converse or meet together in large Companies of young men & women & dance upon the green plats before their Doors. The young women on these occasions make use of many lascivious Gestures & Motions, & so fond are they of this amusement that not a day passes but many of these dances are performed in all parts of the Country. While these are employed in following their Pleasures others line the shores with Torches in their Canoes as a decoy for the Fish, which they catch in that manner.

Every Chief has his Land inclosed with a hedge of Wicker work about 8 feet high made with Bamboo which has a very neat appearance. To this inclosure there is one entrance only, at a door made of Planks which is kept shut by a long pole resting against it on the inside & it cannot be opened on the outside. Within the generality of these Inclosures stand about half a dozen Houses among the Cocoa nut & Bread fruit Trees & groves of Plantains; the Houses are small & contain but one family in each, the Shape of them is an oblong square, the floors are raised about a foot from the Surface of the ground and always covered with matts, the Eves reach near the Ground & the sides are made of wicker work tho' some again are quite open. The Married people are seperated at night from the rest by Skreens made of Strong thick matts which they draw round them, & these they make use of in the day & move them about occasionally to defend them from the wind & the Sun. The furniture of their Houses consists of the Garee[1] or Stools which they use for Pillows,

[1] *kali.*

[463 cont.]

175 admirable similarity of follies, the modes of the former inhabitants
302 of Europe are in full force among the modern antipodes; and our
171 insipid beaux, whose only pride is the invention of a new fashion,
are forced to share that slender honour with the uncivilized natives
of an isle in the South Seas.

175 My father did not return from his excursion till the evening,
having proceeded a considerable way towards the south end of the island.
At noon a smart shower had obliged him to retire into a plantation
175 and to take shelter in a house. Fortunately for him the owner of this
609 cottage was at home, and immediately invited him to sit down on the
352 clean mats which covered the floor, whilst he went to provide some
175 refreshments. In a few moments he brought several coco-nuts, and
609 having opened his oven under ground, took out some bananas and fishes,
252 wrapped in leaves, which were perfectly well done and delicious to
354 the taste. The manner of cooking provisions is therefore exactly
175 the same as at Taheitee; nor are the natives less inclinable to acts
609 of hospitality and benevolence, though these virtues were not so [464]
171 frequently exercised towards us, because we commonly found the
252 country quite deserted, the inhabitants being drawn together towards
175 our trading-place. The hospitable man was rewarded with nails and
431 beads, with which he performed the fagafetai, by laying them on his
439 head, and accompanied my father back to the beach, carefully carrying
201 a number of spears and clubs for him, which he had purchased on the
road.

175 The harmless disposition of these good people could not secure
648 them against those misfortunes, which are too often attendant upon
[171] all voyages of discovery.A A Our goods tempted them at least as much

A [6 October—Analyst.]

76: Yuncker N-4,5 (1953) 1959 OU9 Tonga OU9

Cultivated[1] as an ornamental in villages and cemeteries. A native southeastern Asiatic species now widely distributed as an ornamental in warm countries.

137 247 764 824

FAMILY MUSACEAE

Genus **Musa** Linnaeus

Musa nana Loureiro, Fl. Cochinchinensis, 644, 1790.

I was unable to determine with certainty the presence of this dwarf Chinese banana, but it was claimed to grow in Tonga. If so, it is probable that some of the Tongan names listed under the following species refer to it.

Musa paradisiaca Linnaeus subspecies **normalis** O. Kuntze, Rev. Gen. Pl. 2: 692, 1891.

137 262 824 [252]

The fruit of this subspecies, commonly known as the plantain, is usually cooked before eating. The Tongan name for this subspecies is *hopa*. The following varieties are recognized by the Tongans.

Fetau kula: fruit is round.
Fetau uli'ikuma.
Lehia: bunch bears three or four hands of very large fruits.
Maholi hina.
Maholi 'uli.
Misipeka: small bunches of red fruits.
Pikipiki hina: fruit is small, white, the flesh firm.
Puko: small bunches of fruit nearly as large as the *lehia* variety.
Putalinga kula: stem is large, red, the bunches large, the fruit the size of those of the *puko* variety.
Putalinga puku.
Tatcau.
Tokoni tui: large bunches of hard-fleshed fruit.
Tu'utu'ukautala.
Uhotaha.
Uaivai kako: fruit is medium-sized, long, round, curved.
Uaivai puki.

Musa paradisiaca Linnaeus subspecies **sapientum** (Linnaeus) O. Kuntze, Rev. Gen. Pl. 2: 692, 1891.

[252] The fruit of this subspecies, one of the bananas of commerce, is generally eaten raw. The following varieties are recognized by the Tongans.

Mahimahi: stem is short to medium, the bunches and fruit small.
Mamae: leaves are purplish, the fruit white and short.
Pata lahelahe: stem is medium tall, the fruit green with whitish bloom.
Pata tonga: stem is medium tall, the fruit green, somewhat ribbed, larger than variety *pata lahelahe.*
Siaine fisi: stem is tall, with large bunches of large fruits.
Siaine ha'amoa: stem is medium tall, the fruits and bunches large.
Siaine initia: stem is tall and red, with large clusters of red fruits.
Siaine tonga: stem is short, with short clusters of short fruits.

[1] /Belamcanda chinensis (Linnaeus) de Candolle -- Analyst/

76: Yuncker N-4,5 (1953) 1959 OU9 Tonga OU9

Genus **Curcuma** Linnaeus

137 **Curcuma longa** Linnaeus, Sp. Pl., 2, 1753.

Erect, leafy, herbaceous plant with aromatic, fleshy rootstock. Leaves elliptic-oblong, distichous, acuminate, finely pinnately nerved, petiole about as long as blade, sheathing at base. Flowers several, yellowish, in axils of greenish bracts forming a dense, cone-like or cylindric head at end of leafless peduncle.

Tongatapu: in swampy area below Nualei village, Mar. 9, 1953, *Yuncker 15248.*

'Eua: in deep forest on ridge above sea-facing terraces above Lokupo, Mar. 27, 1953. *Yuncker 15537.*

Vava'u: *Crosby.*

Occasional throughout Tonga. An Indian species now widely disseminated in warm countries.

Tongan name: *ango.*

[386 252 278 824] The rootstock provides a yellow dye and the leaves are used to wrap fish and in the preparation of medicines.

FAMILY CANNACEAE

Genus **Canna** Linnaeus

Canna indica Linnaeus, Sp. Pl., 1, 1753.

Smooth, erect, rhizomatous herb, up to about 1.5 m. tall. Leaves oblong-ovate or lanceolate, entire, acute to acuminate, with long, basal, petiolar part sheathing stem, blade up to 50 cm. or more long and 20-25 cm. wide, pinnately nerved, lateral nerves slender and numerous. Flowers irregular, medium to large, showy, red or yellow, in terminal racemose or paniculate clusters; fruit a warty, bristly capsule, seeds globose, hard, black.

Tongatapu: forming large patches in low moist areas near Vaini, Feb. 26, 1953, *Yuncker 15060.*

'Eua: in low moist area between Pangai village and Fuai, Mar. 25, 1953, *Yuncker 15472.*

Vava'u: *Crosby;* in waste areas near northwestern coastal cliff, May 25, 1953, *Yuncker 16159.*

[247 824] Common in low moist areas throughout Tonga. A tropical American plant now of pantropic distribution. A number of horticultural forms are grown for ornament.

Tongan name: *misimisi.*

FAMILY MARANTACEAE

Genus **Maranta** Linnaeus

Maranta arundinacea Linnaeus, Sp. Pl., 2, 1753.

Erect, slender, glabrous, somewhat dichotomously branched herb, up to about 1 m. tall, rootstock fleshy. Leaves rather thin, ovate-oblong, acuminate, base rounded, blade

76: Yuncker N-4,5 (1953) 1959 OU9 Tonga OU9

Tongatapu: *Nelson;* near Niutoua village, Mar 2, 1953, *Yuncker 15141.* 137

'Eua: in forest on seaward side of cliff above Houma village, Mar. 26, 1953, *Yuncker 15509.*

Kao: lower margin of forest near an old plantation, May 6, 1953, *Yuncker 15969.*

Vava'u: *Crosby.*

Occasional throughout Tonga at low altitudes. Philippines, Micronesia, and New Caledonia east to the Societies and Marquesas.

O. parviflora (Forst.) Hemsl. in Hemsley's and Burkill's lists.

Tongan name: *fao.*

The wood[1] is used for construction work and the leaves to wrap fish for baking. The seeds are edible. [824] [313] [252] [262]

Genus **Bleekeria** Hasskarl

Bleekeria vitiensis (Markgraf) A. C. Smith, Torrey Bot. Club, Bull. 70: 549, 1943.

Tree up to 7 m. or more tall, latex white. Leaves whorled, elliptic-oblanceolate, acute, base cuneate-decurrent, up to 12 cm. or more long and 3 cm. wide, pinnately nerved, lateral nerves very slender, somewhat coriaceous, petiole about 1 cm. long, ridged by decurrent blade margins. Flowers white, in axillary cymose clusters; fruit compressed-elliptic, in pairs, about 4 cm. long and 2 cm. wide.

Vava'u on upper rim of seaside cliff above Ha'alaufuli on northeastern side of island, alt. about 120 m., May 21, 1953, *Yuncker 16107.*

Tongan name: *toto hina.*

The cited specimen, with both flowers and fruits, does not differ essentially from the specimens listed by Markgraf as *Excavatia vitiensis* (B. P. Bishop Mus., Bull. 141: 127, fig. 66, *b, c,* 1936) from the Lau Islands of Fiji. A probable record of this species in Tonga was noted by Burkill (Linn. Soc. Bot., Jour. 35: 46, 1901) as *Ochrosia elliptica* Labill., a species properly known as *Bleekeria elliptica* (Labill.) Koidz. and perhaps occurring no farther east than the larger islands of Fiji. (A. C. Smith.) [113] [113]

Genus **Cerbera** Linnaeus

Cerbera manghas Linnaeus, Sp. Pl., 208, 1753.

Small tree, up to 7 m. or more tall. Leaves simple, entire, glossy, spirally and closely arranged, lanceolate or obovate-lanceolate, acuminate, base acute-decurrent, up to 20-30 cm. long and 5-8 cm. wide, petiole 2-3 cm. long, narrowly winged by decurrent blade margins. Flowers in long-pedunculate, branching, terminal clusters, corolla salverform, white with yellow throat, 3 cm. or more wide, aromatic; fruit oval or elliptical, large, smooth, black when ripe.

Tongatapu: *Moseley;* in thicket along strand below Navutoka village, Feb. 27, 1953, *Yuncker 15106.*

1 /Ochrosia oppositifolia -- Analyst/

77: Whitcombe Y-3 (no date) 1930 OU9 Tonga OU9

226 [286] Fish nets (*finaki*). A fish net is made from the leaves of the coconut palm. The roots are plaited into a round net very much like a lobster net; when ready it is sunk in the sea, weighed down by a stone or some heavy weight. The fish swim into an opening in the net..

USES OF THE COCONUT PALM

824 [181] 278 226 285 342 353 The coconut tree is considered by the natives to be the most useful tree in Tonga. It is indispensable in house building, and the number of articles made from its wood and leaves is remarkable. The heart of the tree is used for making walking sticks, the bark for medicine, the roots for a kind of fish net called *finaki*, the leaves for baskets, thatching houses, and making mats and flooring. The uses of the fruit are innumerable.

824 853 [843] As a medicine the fruit is given to pregnant women to increase the supply of breast milk. For this the green nuts are used. A newborn child is always given *namoa*, which is made from the roasted flesh of the ripe nut. This roasted flesh is chewed by someone, usually a woman, and when taken from the mouth is rolled in a piece of *fetaaki*, squeezed, and the juice given to the child. This is his only food for four days.

824 [439] [314] [415] Ripe coconuts are valuable for copra, which is the dried flesh. This is sold to European markets largely, where it is used for soap, candles, oils, and a variety of products. The shells of the coconut are burned and made into charcoal (*malala*) for ironing. Kava cups also are made from the shells.

824 262 [252] No native food is considered complete without the presence of coconut in one form or another. Yams, fish, and bananas are usually cooked in the milk extracted from the flesh of the ripe coconut and strained through coconut fiber.

824 [412] 287 [415] Brooms are made from the ribs of the leaf, and the leaf stem is used for stirring oil, also as weights for tapa which is spread on the ground for printing. The bark (*kaka*), which surrounds the leaves at the body of the palm, is used to make bags for wrapping arrowroot and medicines.

The several varieties of coconut palms have different uses.

VARIETIES OF COCONUT PALMS

245 824 [285] KAPA. The nut is gathered when green and husked, the husk put in a native oven and left for two weeks, after which it is taken out and beaten to remove all the dust. The fiber thus obtained is plaited into mats.

243 Corn or maize - koane (Zea mays). Corn or maize, a native of Mexico (Herklots, 1972: 384), was introduced after European contact (Massal and Barrau, 1956: 44). [439] [438] Although being exported on a limited basis, it is primarily a subsistence crop as well as being sold at the local market. It is found on many bush and town allotments throughout Tongatapu, planted either alone or intercropped with yams, taro and other subsistence crops.

245 Edible hibiscus - pele (Hibiscus manihot). Pele, probably native to the Southwest Pacific (Massal and Barrau, 1956: 35) is a form of edible hibiscus, growing about three to five feet in height. [262] [252] It is an important green vegetable source (the leaves being cooked like spinach with or without coconut cream), is easily cultivated, and is commonly found throughout Tongatapu on both bush and town allotments. Two kinds, pele hina and pele kula, are commonly recognized by Tongans, the former being the more common.

Papaya or pawpaw - lesi (Carica papaya). Of tropical American origin and post-European introduction (Barrau, 1971: 5), the papaya is a ubiquitous plant which provides the most common fruit on Tongatapu. It grows on almost all bush and town allotments in both wild and cultivated states and is a dominant species in many secondary vegetation communities. There are a number of varieties recognized by Tongans, the most common being lesi Tonga, lesi meleni and lesi 'Initia.

92: Kaeppler E-4 (1964-1967) 1971
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longer exists in Tonga and no specimens have been located in museum collections. Were it not for the Cook descriptions, one might be tempted to explain any reference to them as the result of contact with Fiji, where they still exist.

A dance paddle was collected by Forster, but there are no descriptions of Tongan dance in the second voyage accounts. The paddle is listed in the Tongan section of the *Catalogue* as Number 81, 'a Spatule of wood to mix up their paste of bread-fruit with', but this need not be as incorrect as it sounds. Tongans did make bread-fruit paste and several breadfruit pounders were collected. If a utensil was necessary at a moment's notice it is not unlikely that a discarded dance paddle would be used. The Pitt Rivers Museum example had been broken and mended with coconut fibre and its shape would be a good one for mixing breadfruit paste. The dance in which the paddle is used (*me'etu'upaki*) was depicted and described in the third voyage accounts. A watercolour by Webber is now in the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich,[10] and in Cook's Journal there is a detailed description (Beaglehole 1967: 109). During Cook's time this was the type of formal dance performed on state occasions and in connection with the Tu'i Tonga's harvest ceremonies. Today this dance can only be performed by members of the village of the Tu'i Tonga. This recognises the still exalted status of the Tu'i Tonga line and those who descend from it, even though it is not the ruling line of today.[11]

The second dance type described and depicted in Cook's third voyage accounts, the *me'elaufola*, was during Cook's time the informal dance type. An engraving (plate 6a)[A] shows how observant Webber was and how he has made an artistic convention useful to research. The women on either side of the musicians are shown with their arms in quite different positions. With a knowledge of Tongan dance one can easily discern that Webber has depicted the beginning and end of the most important arm movement in Tongan dance.[12] This convention was also used by Labillardière in his depiction of another Tongan dance (1802: following p. 167). The *me'elaufola* no longer exists in Tonga, but it has evolved into the new formal dance type of today, the *lakalaka*, which uses the same arm movement as that drawn by Webber. The *lakalaka* visually and poetically acknowledges the shift in societal power to the Ha'a Ngata. It is performed by all the adult members of a village, who, in effect, deliver a speech in unison dramatising their words with actions and thereby pay their allegiance to the established socio-political order of Tonga. The contemporary arrangement of dancers reflects such traditional Tongan values as sister outranking brother, resulting in brother-sister avoidance, while the placement of chiefs and *matāpule* lines represented in the village, as well as the achieved status of best dancer (*mālie taha*), demonstrates how concepts of rank pervade all Tongan life in a manner as important today as it was in the eighteenth century.

We conclude, then, that written accounts, illustrations, and collections made on the voyages of Captain Cook have contributed new insights into the material culture and society of Tonga. Many ethnological collections have been almost totally ignored by social and cultural anthropologists for many years and the associated documentation has often been mislaid, and in some cases destroyed. It is occasionally possible, however, to identify and localise early specimens from illustrations and from the records of eighteenth-century museums and private collections, and this documentation has been crucial here in increasing our understanding of Tongan material culture. Further, the study of first hand accounts of

A. [See End Plate 6, following p. 220--Analyst]

97: Stewart G-3 (1960) 1961
OU9 Tonga OU9

ever-competent assistance of the A.D.C. punctuated our days and nights.

Daily Feasts

During the first course the delegates came from the far-away islands of Vava'u and Ha'apai and the nearer Eua, so they were daily entertained by a different local village which provided them with three handsome meals, the midday dinner being served on low tables on the *Langa Fonua* back verandah. A lorry would arrive between 11.30 and 12, a team of servers gaily garlanded would leap forth and unload great plaited coconut frond *pola* or stretchers laden with delicious food—long yams or taro down each side forming a protective wall for the pyramid of whole sucking pigs (the pig population in 1955 was 30,000), chickens, shellfish, fresh fish, salads, water melons and the popular *lu pulu* (corned beef cooked with coconut cream and wrapped in taro leaves) as well as a special local cassava and caramel pudding also wrapped in green leaves.

We would sit, a company of about 35 to 40, on the floor round this long laden table and eat with our fingers, helping ourselves freely while the host team entertained us with ukulele, songs and high-spirited dances in which many of us took part as a healthy digestive to the superb meal. Speeches from the visitors and hosts took place throughout the meal, the orator frequently weeping as a gesture of appreciation of such generous hospitality.

Then would follow the afternoon session, which on three days appropriately consisted of a talk on food values and a cooking demonstration.

Sunday was the final feast of that first week, at the house of the A.D.C. and his wife, the Hon. Vaea and Tuputupu, where European custom of linen and cutlery mingled with the lavish, genial festivity of Tonga.

The average attendance was 35 at these five-day courses for women leaders from different areas.

Courses For Village Instructors

Tonga has much the same difficulty as other countries throughout the world regarding village work, namely, the problem of keeping up interest without extraneous leadership. The morning sessions were consequently directed to-

/30 cont./

181
177
153

ishingly large number of practical Tongans; for example, on Nomuka there was a Tongan living in the bush on his plantation who was incapable of climbing a coconut palm, while another native of this island, in using an outrigger, was simply unable to keep on a straight course.

in handling gasoline lamps, sewing machines, (59)

[294]

59. In November 1951 a Tongan woman using a hand sewing machine copied a German style shirt belonging to the author to fit her husband, after she had briefly seen it while laundering it.

bicycles and trucks, they have not only great independence in applying European building methods (60)

[346]
[252]

60. For example, in 1946, the finished Catholic church in Fungamisi (Vava'u) of concrete construction with a steeple 16 meters high was designed and built solely by Tongans; in Pangai/Lifuka in 1950 a Tongan built a well functioning baker's oven under primitive conditions, after he had seen one like it in Nuku'alofa.

usually without systematic learning (often just by watching), but they also carry on with church work, the school system and public health service on most islands, independently, without direct European help, and a number of Tongans even founded two Tongan Wesleyan churches in order to be free of dependence on Europeans in this sphere. (61)

61. See chapter "Religion" p. 369 f.

181
177

However, his considerable intelligence does not help the Tongan toward a proper feeling for, or an actual understanding of, the European world. The Archipelago is isolated and too distant from the large countries of the world, and the European influences that reach the small islands are essentially only of ecclesiastical and material

778 cont./

(up to 20 or 30 if they go by boat) accompany the couple. Meanwhile (or on the following day) the parents (especially the father) of the bridegroom (also sometimes the bride's parents) along with the rest of the relatives make a huge earth oven with large pigs, yams, taro etc.

After the civil marriage the couple, again accompanied by their relatives, go to church. The wedding celebrations of all classes and religious faiths of Tonga are similar; only the church wedding ceremony, of course, differs among the individual denomination.

The bride is then again escorted to her paternal home in order to dress for the actual wedding celebration which now begins. The bridegroom too goes to his place for this purpose. Their festive garments are more or less elaborate, according to their means. A very well-to-do bride, for example, is wrapped in a finely plaited, soft fihu-mat several meters long, which covers her body from breasts to knees (so that only the brassiere straps are visible). Over this are wrapped several (up to about ten) fine Samoa mats or kie Tonga, so that the bride can move only with her arms held almost horizontally. Her body is lavishly rubbed with Tonga oil; she wears a flower or a ribbon in her hair and perhaps also sisi kakala around her shoulders and waist. The bridegroom is dressed like the bride. Sometimes, in addition, he wears a (silk) shirt. Both of them are barefoot and without a head covering. Such wedding garb is what is aspired to, but not always achieved. Because of little domestic diligence (in part the loss of ancient skills) or a certain "poverty" resulting from special circumstances, there are simpler wedding garments (fewer and coarser mats), which in extreme cases may consist of only one mat and one tapa vala (worn by the girl with her blouse or dress, by the man with his shirt and possibly with the cloth vala). A

/134 cont./

343 178 (or various materials and all kinds of shapes) or vacant dwellings serve to store supplies. Almost every household, however, has a cook
343 252 hut which is usually put up as a "stick construction" with a very simple shape and is covered [on top and sides] with interlaced coconut-palm leaves (pola); sometimes bamboo (walls), timber and corrugated metal are also used. The families who do not own a cook hut cook in the open (for example, under a large tree) or at a neighbor's, never
[178] inside the dwelling. The ancient Tongan custom of separating dwelling and kitchen has thus been retained. As a result of efforts on the part
343 514 178 of authorities, most Tongan households today have separate latrine huts covered with interwoven coconut-palm twigs (pola) or with timber and/ or corrugated metal. The /135/ little "bath" houses erected on most
343 515 properties, in which people wash in a zinc tub or a wash basin. often consist of only three pola-walls; some are also built of wood and
343 corrugated metal and are roofed-over. Boat houses occur now and then in the shape of simple roofs covered with interwoven coconut-palm leaves, which are supposed to protect sailboats temporarily out of service from the inclemencies of the weather. Roofed-over work areas
[178] (especially for women) on many properties in the villages have similar, simple roofs, as in old times. (362)

362. See G. Forster, loc. cit. I. p. 139.

342 178 177 To sum up, we may say that today in the Tonga Archipelago there are no longer any dwellings which correspond exactly to the ancient Tongan dwelling. However, despite the new building material and the model of the simpler, rectangular constructions, one-half (and more) or the numerous types or today show the old form of the long house with rounded narrow sides. With this has arisen a fusion of the old and the new which strikes us as strange.

342 463 For house-building in ancient Tonga there were specialists

/149 cont./

177 ones of their own, or are simply regarded as "representative." This
178 change has, however, not essentially altered the ancient Tongan style of household living. The great majority of natives use the seat mats and the sleep mats, as did their forefathers, and have merely made their traditional way of life more comfortable with the European
178 novelties. The difference between the furnishings of commoners and
565 nobles, which to some extent undoubtedly existed in earlier times, has disappeared. With respect to Tongan cultural assets this must have meant a loss in quantity and quality for nobles and a gain for
177 commoners. The acquisition of European things is today solely dependent on financial means.

342 /150/ To sum up, we may say about the Tongan house and its
177 furnishings that all changes, as great as they may be in detail,
178 have by no means changed the function of the dwelling. As in old times, it is the place where the family sleeps and rests. (396)

396. The set-up of the Tongan household and the distribution of houses on the individual properties in the village may be seen on page 00 ff., and the number of houses in the various villages on page 134.

[461] No work is done in the dwelling except the mat-plaiting of the women,
[285] and the cook area is still located in a separate hut.
[252]

B. FOOD

a) Cultivation

241 The Tongans were and are primarily farmers, and their cultivation
178 has undergone no fundamental change through European influences.
[177] Very probably the size of the land cultivated today in the Tonga Archipelago is as large as it was in ancient Tongan times. The
[161] considerable decrease of cultivation in the first half of the past century (as a result of the civil wars from 1797 to 1852 and the transition to village settlements) has as regards to the area of

/162 cont./

245 huo spade they dig holes approximately 50 centimeters deep (diameter 25 to 30 centimeters) in which they plant a sprig (root sucker). They fill the plant hole with earth so that a depression remains in which water from rainfalls can accumulate. The distance between plants is about five meters on a flat area. Every three weeks or so they remove the proliferating weeds with the huo lafa-lafa. After six to nine months the first fruits can be harvested.

niu = Coconut Palm (Cocos nucifera L.)

824 178 Since the settlement of the Archipelago the coconut palm has played a very special role in Tongan culture. At the present time in particular, in view of its extraordinarily manifold uses, (426)

426. The following list will show the all-purpose uses of the coconut palm in Tonga; ("old") and ("new") indicate whether or not its utilization was already common in ancient Tonga.

[262] [252] [231] [303] [372] 1. The meat of the nut (kakano 'i niu): eaten in pieces by the natives (old); grated (or squeezed out as coconut milk) for preparing foods and beverages (old); grated to feed chickens and pigs (old), used in pieces to feed pigs (old) and horses (new); used for making copra (new); the oil obtained from the meat is used to make hair oil and body oil (lolo Tonga) (old), to fry in a pan (new) and to burn as fuel in the absence of petroleum imports (old).

[272] [262] [264] 2. The water of the nut (huhu'a oe niu): especially of unripe nuts is drunk by the natives (old); in an unripe nut it is stirred together with the meat and eaten (old); used at meals to wash one's fingers (old).

[415] [372] [524] 3. The hard shell (Endocarpium) of the nut (nge'esi niu): used for making drinking mugs (old); as fuel (old) and (as charcoal) to heat flat irons (new); used as a child's toy su nge'esi niu ("coconut shell shoes," see p. 272 (new).

[283] 4. The husk (Mesocarpium) of the nut (pulu): used to make cord (kafa) for house and boat building, for fastening blades to tools etc. (old); used as cover for hatchets

/165 cont./
244 hindered in its growth by weeds or is eaten by horses and rats.

pinati = Peanut (Arachis hypogaea L.)

[137] This was also brought to Tonga by whites. The natives are fond of
[262] peanuts, but have so far paid little attention to its cultivation

245 moli = Orange, Lemon, Grapefruit, Tangerine (Citrus species)
[137] Some of these grew in the Archipelago even in olden times (grapefruit!)
(434)

434. See G. Forster, loc. cit. V. p. 150;
J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. p. 236.

and were in part introduced by Europeans. These fruits, with the exception of lemons, are very popular among the Tongans. The moli are planted in the villages as well as on plantation lands, but there they mostly
[136] grow wild. On many islands a fruit fly has caused considerable damage to oranges.

[137] lesi = Papaya (Carica papaya L.)
was apparently introduced by Europeans, but a long time ago. Today it is widespread in the Archipelago, grows wild, but is also planted in
[262] bush land and sometimes in the villages. The natives are fond of the
[252] fruit (raw, cooked or steamed in the earth oven).

fekika = Malayan Apple (Eugenia malaccensis L.)
has probably been indigenous since ancient Tongan times. (435)

435. Perhaps Ellis means the Malayan apple when he says: "a fruit resembling an apple, which we never saw ripe" /quoted in English/ (W. Ellis, An authentic narrative...I. p. 89).

Some of the trees grow wild in the api 'uta, some are planted there.
[262] The Tongans love the fruit, but today, as in the past, it is not very important in their diet as a whole.

241 vi = (Spondias dulcis Forst.)
seems to be indigenous in Tonga and largely grows wild on plantation
[262] lands. The natives like the sweet fruits.

/165 cont./

245 [137] tava = (Pometia pinnata Forst.) is said to have been brought to Tonga from the Fiji Islands. (436)

436. See Th. West, Ten Years.../cited in English/ p. 133.

The tree occurs in the wild state and is also specially planted. The [262] fruits are popular among the natives.

/166/ ifi = (Inocarpus fagiferus [Park.] Fosb.) occurred already in ancient Tonga. (437)

437. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 284.

[262] The tree is planted, but also grows wild. The natives cook the fruit [252] and also steam it in the earth-oven, in the traditional way.

241 [137] [262] vaine = (Passiflora speices) was brought to the Archipelago by Europeans. The fruits of the vaine are generally planted, but also grow wild, and are eaten raw.

[139] [262] apele Tonga = (Annona reticulata L.) probably also came to Tonga through European influence. The apele Tonga is sometimes planted, mostly grows wild. The fruit is eaten raw.

'avoka = (?) was apparently likewise introduced in Tonga only a few decades ago. On some of the islands the natives like to plant 'avoka, but it also [262] grows wild. The fruit is eaten raw.

244 si = "Sugar Tree" (Cordyline terminalis) is a plant that was already indigenous in ancient Tonga. (438)

438. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 284.

The si are often planted on the api 'uta, but also in the villages; [252] moreover, they grow wild. The root is used: it is steamed in the earth-oven to obtain the sweet juice (by chewing or pressing). The importance of this plant has probably decreased, since today the natives on all the islands can buy cane sugar cheaply from Fiji.

244 137 Cabbage, Onions and Tomatoes,

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Meal consisting of	Number of meals in		Meal consisting of	Number of meals in	
	ʻUiha	Fungamisi		ʻUiha	Fungamisi
Breadfruit, b.(482)	40	28	Breadfruit. b., roast beef	1	1
Breadfruit, st.(482)	29	8			
Breadfruit,r.(482)	1	5	Breadfruit, b., roast beef tea	1	
Breadfruit,r., salted meat		1			
Breadfruit, r., bread, butter, fat, tea, sugar		1	Breadfruit, b., roast beef, bread, butter, marmalade, tea, sugar, milk		1
Breadfruit, b., seaweed	2				
Breadfruit, b., mussels		2	Breadfruit, b., corned beef, bread, butter, tea, sugar		1
Breadfruit, b., fish	21	2			
Breadfruit, b., fish, seaweed	1		Breadfruit, b., salted meat	1	10
Breadfruit, b., seaweed, squid	1		Breadfruit, b., salted meat, vi leaves		1
Breadfruit, b., taro leaves	4				
Breadfruit, b., maize	1		Breadfruit, b., salted meat, taro leaves		1
Breadfruit, b., chicken		1	Breadfruit, b., canned fish		6
Breadfruit, b., pork	3	3	Breadfruit, b., tea		2
Breadfruit, b., corned beef	10	2	Breadfruit, b., coffee	1	
Breadfruit, b., taro leaves corned beef	1		Breadfruit, b., bread, marmalade, tea		2
Breadfruit, b., corned-beef-soup	3	1	Breadfruit, b., bread, butter, marmalade, tea sugar		3

482. The abbreviations signify: b.= boiled in pots; st.= stewed in earth-oven; r.= roasted in the fire.

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[ʻUiha]
[Fungamisi]

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Meal consisting of	Number of meals in		Meal consisting of	Number of meals in	
	ʻUiha	Fungamisi		ʻUiha	Fungamisi
Breadfruit, b., mussels, bread, butter, coffee, sugar		1	Breadfruit, b. bread, butter, coffee, sugar, oranges		1
Breadfruit, b., flour porridge	1		Breadfruit, st., pork, fish	2	
Breadfruit, b., flour dumplings	1		Breadfruit, st., pork, bread	1	
Breadfruit, r., coconut oil, sugar-"pudding"	1	2	Breadfruit, st., corned beef	3	
Breadfruit, st., fish	11	1	Breadfruit, st., corned-beef-soup	3	
Breadfruit, st., fish, zwieback, bread, tea	1		Breadfruit, st., roast beef		2
Breadfruit, st., mussels		1	Breadfruit, st., corned beef, fish	3	1
Breadfruit,st., fish, seaweed	1		Breadfruit, st., canned fish		1
Breadfruit, st., fish, taro leaves	1		Breadfruit, st., corned beef, canned fish	1	1
Breadfruit, st., taro leaves, ifi-fruit	2		Breadfruit, st., corned beef, taro leaves	1	
Breadfruit, st., taro leaves, salted meat		1	Breadfruit, st., salted meat		4
Breadfruit, st., meat of ripe coconuts	3		Breadfruit, st., salted meat, taro leaves		1
Breadfruit, st., Carica papaya	2		Yams, b.	5	5
Breadfruit, st., pork	7		Yams, st.	1	1
			Yams, b., fish	5	
			Yams, b., meat of ripe coconuts	1	
			Yams, b., Chicken	1	1

['Uiha]
[Fungamisi]

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Meal consisting of	Number of meals in 'Uiha	Number of meals in Fungamisi
Yams, b., corned beef	1	
Yams, b., corned-beef-soup		1
Yams, b., roast beef	1	
Yams, b., salted meat		2
Yams, b., salted meat, taro leaves		1
Yams, b., flour dumplings	1	
Yams, b., coffee	1	
Yams, st., mussels		2
Yams, st., Carica papaya	1	
Yams, st., chicken	1	
Yams, st., corned beef		1
Bananas (hopa), b.	2	
Bananas (pata), b.	1	
Bananas (siaine), b.	2	
Bananas (siaine and pata), b.	1	
Bananas (hopa), b., fish	2	
Bananas (hopa), b., corned beef	1	
Bananas (hopa), b., fried cakes	1	

Meal consisting of	Number of meals in 'Uiha	Number of meals in Fungamisi
Yams, b., pork	1	3
Bananas (siaine), b., fish	1	
Bananas (siaine), b., tea	1	
Manioc, b.	4	
Manioc, b., fish	2	
Manioc, b., pork	1	
Manioc, st., fish, pork	1	
Manioc, b., corned beef	2	
Taro, b.	1	2
Taro, st.	1	
Taro, b., fish	1	
Taro, b., octopus		2
Taro, b., bread, butter, marmalade, tea, sugar, condensed milk		3
Breadfruit, b., yams, b., vai siaine	11	
Breadfruit, st., yams, st.		1
Breadfruit, b., yams, b., seaweed	1	
Breadfruit, b., yams, b., taro leaves	1	

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['Uiha]
[Fungamisi]

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Meal consisting of	Number of meals in		Meal consisting of	Number of meals in	
	'Uiha	Fungamisi		'Uiha	Fungamisi
Breadfruit, b., Yams, b., fish	7		Breadfruit, st., Yams, st., salted meat	1	
Breadfruit, b., Yams, b., fish, fried cakes, tea	3		Breadfruit, b., Bananas, b. (hopa)	5	
Breadfruit, b., Yams, b., corned beef	5		Breadfruit, b., Bananas, b. (hopa), taro leaves	1	
Breadfruit, b., Yams, b., corned beef, sausage		1	Breadfruit, b., Bananas, b. (hopa), fish	2	
Breadfruit, b., Yams, b., salted meat, canned fish		1	Breadfruit, b., Bananas, b. (pata)	6	
Breadfruit, st., Yams, st., fish	4		Breadfruit, b., Bananas, b. (pata), fish	2	
Breadfruit, st., Yams, st., fish squid		1	Breadfruit, b., Bananas, b. (pata), chicken	1	
Breadfruit, st., Yams, st., ifi-fruit	1		Breadfruit, b., Bananas, b. (pata), corned beef	1	
Breadfruit, st., Yams, st., Carica papaya	1		Breadfruit, b., Bananas, b. (hopa, pata)	1	
Breadfruit, st., Yams, st., chicken	1		Breadfruit, b., Bananas, b. (hopa, pata), fish	1	
Breadfruit, st., Yams, st. pork	2		Breadfruit, b., Bananas, st. (siaine)	2	

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['Uiha]
[Fungamisi]

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Meal consisting of	Number of meals in 'Uiha	Number of meals in Fungamisi	Meal consisting of	Number of meals in 'Uiha	Number of meals in Fungamisi
Breadfruit, st., Yams, st., corned beef	2		Breadfruit, b., Bananas b. (siaine), taro leaves	1	
/188/ Breadfruit b., Manioc, b.	6		Yams, b., Bananas, b. (hopa), corned beef	1	
Breadfruit, b. Manioc, b., fish	2		Yams, b., Manioc, b.	1	
Breadfruit, st., Manioc, st., pork	3		Yams, b., Manioc, b., fish, mussels	1	
Breadfruit, st., manioc pudding	1		Yams, b. Bananas, b. (pata) Manioc, b.	2	
Breadfruit, st., Taro, st.	2		Yams, b., Bananas, b. (pata), Manioc, b., taro leaves	1	
Breadfruit, st., Taro, st., fish	2		Yams, b., Bananas, b. (hopa), Taro, b.	1	
Breadfruit, b., Yams, b., Taro, b., salted meat, sausage		1	Yams, b., Manioc, b., taro leaves	2	
Breadfruit, b., Yams, b., Bananas (pata), b.	1		Yams, st., Manioc, st., Taro, st., taro leaves	1	
Breadfruit, b. Yams, b., Bananas (pata), b., fish	1		Bananas, st. (pata), Manioc, st.	1	
Breadfruit, b., Manioc, b., Taro, b.	1		Bananas, st. (hopa) Taro, st.	1	
Breadfruit, b., Manioc, b., Taro, b., fish	1		Manioc, b., Taro, b.	1	

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Meal consisting of	Number of meals in 'Uiha	Number of meals in Fungamisi
Breadfruit, b., Manioc, b., Taro, b., corned beef	1	
Yams, b., Bananas (pata) b., fish	2	
/189/ Rice, b.	1	
Flour dumplings (topai)	21	
Fried cakes (keke), tea	2	1
Bread	1	
Bread, tea (sugar)	1	4
Bread, corned beef	1	
Bread, corned beef, tea		1
Bread, butter, tea		1
Bread, butter, tea, sugar		13
Bread, butter, tea, condensed milk, (sugar)		8
Bread, butter, tea, sugar, Carica papaya		1
Manioc, st., Taro, st.	1	
ifi-fruit, st., flour dumplings	1	
/189/ Bread, butter, tea, sugar, 'avoka		2
Bread, banana cake, butter, tea, sugar		2
Bread, butter, marmalade, tea		2
Bread, butter, marmalade, tea, condensed milk, (sugar)		6
Bread, butter, marmalade, corned beef, tea, condensed milk, sugar		1
Bread, butter, cocoa made with water	1	3
Bread, butter, coffee	1	
Zwieback, tea	1	

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[ʻUiha]
[Nomuka]

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Sunday Meal ('Uiha) consisting of	Sunday Meal ('Uiha) consisting of	Sunday Meal ('Uiha) consisting of
Breadfruit, b. fish	Breadfruit, st. Yams, st. Carica papaya corned beef	Breadfruit, st. Yams, st. Taro, st. Carica papaya salted meat
Breadfruit, b. pork	Breadfruit, st. Yams, st. Manioc, st. taro leaves fish corned beef	Breadfruit, st. Manioc, st.
Breadfruit, st. fish octopus	Breadfruit, st. Yams, st. Manioc, st. fish	Breadfruit, st. Manioc, st. fish
Breadfruit, st. Yams, st. sweet potato leaves corned beef fish	Breadfruit, st. Yams, st. Manioc, st. fish	Yams, st. Manioc, st. fish
Breadfruit, b., Yams, b., sweet potato leaves corned beef		

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Gala Meal(faka afe) (Nomuka) consisting of	Gala Meal(faka afe) (Nomuka) consisting of
Yams, st. kape, st. Bananas (hopa), st. Tonga pudding(faikakai) pork chicken fish	Yams, st. Sweet potatoes, st. kape, st. bananas (siaine) English pudding pork chicken duck
Yams, st. Sweet potatoes, st. Bananas (hopa), st. watermelon English pudding pork fish corned beef red lemonade	Fried cakes Zwieback with marmalade Cocoa made with water, added condensed milk and sugar red lemonade

(292)

/191/

252 [343] [178] The Tongans prepare their food as in old times in (or near special cook huts (485)

485. See pp. 93-94.

on their properties; nowadays, meals are sometimes also prepared on the plantations if these are more distant from the villages. The 252 natives use various methods. Most often they cook in pots. The 415 Tongans erect simple hearths of stones or old corned-beef cans and 177 iron rods laid over them. On this they set an iron pot or kettle, or [372] an empty zwieback can, in which the food is cooked, while the fire underneath the container is fed with coconut husks and shells as well as firewood. Cooking (haka) in pots is most probably not an ancient [439] Tongan custom. But for a long time the islanders have obtained clay pots from the Fiji Islands,

486. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 284.

A century and a half ago they also began using iron pots which they obtained from European ships; (487)

487. Ibid.

however, it has only been in the past few decades, with the commercial development of the South Seas, that cooking in pots has become the 252 predominant custom in food preparation. The characteristic Tongan way of preparing food is to stew it in the earth-oven. This is more work for the natives than boiling, but it is still often practiced even for everyday cooking (especially on the smaller islands); on Sundays, festivals and other special occasions, preparing an earth-oven is taken for granted in most Tongan families.

A typical, carefully prepared earth-oven ('umu) in Tonga is today put together in the following way: In the village, inside or next to their cook hut (or, if a meal is planned on the plantation, on a place there) the natives dig a circular hole, the size depending

/191 cont./

252 on the amount of food to be stewed; its diameter is approximately one to one and a half meters, its (center) depth approximately 30 - 60 252 centimeters. On the bottom of the pit they arrange dried coconut 372 leaves in layers and over them the husks and shells of ripe coconuts (or wood); on top of this they place a great many stones. (488)

[823] 488. They prefer volcanic rocks; however, since these must at some time be fetched from the uninhabited volcanic islands of the Archipelago, they often also use the less effective coralline rocks that are easily obtainable everywhere.

They set fire to the coconut leaves, husks and shells (or wood) and heat the stones; in order to make these red-hot they add more fuel. Finally, the stones that have sunk to the bottom of the pit seem hot enough; with a long stick they scrape the remnants of burned-up fuel out of the "earth-oven" and distribute the stones evenly around the bottom and the wall of the pit up to the top edge. The 252 food which has meanwhile been prepared is then placed in the earth-oven: they will place, for example, the cut-up yams, kape, manioc, etc., on the stones (489)

489. On these they sometimes first put a protective layer of waste after peeling.

and spread over them an insulating layer /192/ of coconut husks. On [415] these they place pouches made of banana leaves (490)
[824]

490. These banana leaves they prepare by splitting off the center ribs and holding the leaves over the fire so that they become tough and resistant; the bundle (pouch) is tied with the rib part that was split off.

which may, for example, contain cut-up taro leaves (= "vegetable"), fish or corned beef (or a chicken) and coconut milk (squeezed out of the grated coconut meat). They also add pieces of pork to the cut-up tubers, and on special occasions, as in old times, (491)

252 /192 cont./

491. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 228; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 283/284.

they place in the pit as the main filling a whole pig (the inside of which is stuffed with hot stones wrapped in banana leaves) together with a few pieces of a tuber. Over the filled earth-oven they spread chunks of wood on which they place banana leaves. This in turn is [197] nowadays covered with old European bags so that the layer of earth which is finally shoveled on top cannot soil the food. The finished earth-oven now forms a dome over the surface of the ground; the height of the small mound corresponds approximately to the depth of the pit. In three-quarters of an hour to an hour and a half, the Tongan knows that the food is done. The separate covering layers of the earth-oven are removed and the food is served.

Of course, not all earth-ovens are as elaborately filled in the manner described. Sometimes, a few breadfruits, for example, are the only filling in a correspondingly smaller pit.

[197] [198] Aside from the use of corned beef as filling and bags to cover the earth-oven, it seems scarcely to have changed as compared to the past.

[198] Now and then they also roast food in hot ashes, as was already done in ancient Tongan times. (492)

492. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 184.

This procedure (tumu) is as follows: On level ground they make a fire of dried coconut palm leaves, coconut husks or wood and, as soon as the flames die down, they place in it bananas or yams, manioc or taro cut in pieces, sometimes also a plucked and gutted hen. The food is roasted in the embers while being turned with a long forked stick. After 20 or 30 minutes it is done; the scorched banana skins [illegible], for example, are beaten with a little stick so that they

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252 burst open and can easily be peeled off by hand. The natives like to roast food in this way on the plantations when they want to prepare a quick, improvised meal.

Boiling in pots, stewing in the earth-oven and roasting in the fire and ashes, these three methods of present-day food preparation in Tonga are numerically distributed in the preceding table of everyday meals as follows: Of the 345 meals prepared in this way in 'Uiha, 200 were boiled, 103 stewed and 2 roasted; of the 128 meals prepared in the same way in Fungamisi, /193/ 93 were boiled, 26 stewed and 9 roasted. According to statements of aged Tongans, the [178] earth-oven was used more often several decades ago than it is today; however, the figures show that the ancient Tonga method of preparation in the earth-oven has not yet been supplanted; rather, it plays an important part on an island like 'Uiha, and is used frequently even in a town near a seaport, such as Fungsmisi.

252 178 Small pigs are sometimes also roasted over an open fire--probably according to ancient custom--on a spit stuck through their bodies (from snout to anus); one end of the spit rests on a forked branch stuck into the ground, the other the native who is doing the work holds in his hand so that he can turn the piglet as needed.

Cooking with hot stones is seldom done any more, except occasionally to prepare the Tongan pudding (faikakai): in a large trough they mix manioc flour with water and heat the mash with red-hot stones until it boils.

Frying foods (for example, chicken, fish) on hot stones is still done now and then, as it was in the past. (493)

493. See W. Ellis, An authentic narrative... /cited in English/ I. p. 96.

415 252 177 European frying pans, which are now found in some households and are used on the same fire areas as the cooking pots for preparing the

/193 cont./

415 252 177 flour-fried cake (keke) and for frying other foods, the Tongans find a welcome addition to the rest of their methods. Up to the present time, European cookstoves and ovens have found very little distribution in the Archipelago; now and then, on special occasions, people bake "English cake" in self-built bake-ovens by placing the cake in a mold on the hot stones of an earth-oven, surrounding it with corrugated sheet metal and earth and covering it with a piece of corrugated sheet metal.

372 177 178 Today, in the villages, fire is produced with matches; occasionally one sees European lighters. On the plantations, where often no matches are available, the natives often use the ancient Tongan method of striking fire, (494)

494. See p. 221.

and everywhere they like to "save" the fire in the traditional way in the form of a glowing coconut husk.

252 462 Preparing an earth-oven is chiefly men's work. They generally heat the stones, peel and cut up the tubers and prepare the rest of the filling for the oven; the women help with the easier tasks, for example preparing the banana-leaf pouches. This division of labor corresponds to that customary in ancient Tonga where food /194/ preparation was apparently largely the business of the men. (495)

495. See Th. West, Ten years...p. 267.

The easier activity of boiling in pots is today, however, usually performed by the women.

252 [565] [178] Commoners probably prepare most of their meals just as they did in the past; the nobles--in accordance with their simplified standard of living as compared to the past--serve meals which are not very different from those of the people. Peeling, cutting-up and stewing tubers is still the most common way of preparing food, except for boiling. Extracting coconut milk with which the tubers

/194 cont./

252 (especially bananas or breadfruit) are enriched in stewing or boiling, is still done as in old times: They grate halved coconuts on the coconut grater (hakalo), (496)

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496. This is a tripod made of a piece of branch up to more than two meters in length (or a simple board approximately 0.80 - 1.00 meters long) to the front part of which they nowadays fasten in place of a shell, a piece of iron hammered flat and serrated with a file.

mix the grated meat with water, knead it with their hands, and, with a sieve (made of hibiscus bast or the fibers of the coconut husk), they remove the pressed-out coconut flakes from the now ready milky liquid. The popular sweet dish (faikakai) (497)

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497. For this they peel roasted breadfruit, mash it (with a fresh breadfruit stuck on a stick), cut the glutinous substance into pieces and mix it with a sauce of coconut milk and sugar.

corresponds to the "Fy'caky' lolo tootoo" mentioned by Mariner for ancient Tonga, (498)

498. J Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 285.

except that sugar imported by Europeans replaces the former juice of Cordyline terminalis and cane sugar. Manioc today largely replaces the mahoa'a (arrowroot /cited in English/ = Tacca pinnatifida F.) which has been pretty much forgotten; similarly, the pudding mentioned by Mariner (who calls it "Loloi" (499))

499. Ibid. p. 286.

is now made out of the starchy flour of manioc roots grated on a perforated piece of tin. The burying of fruit and bananas, (500)

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500. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 288; J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 209, II. p. 286.

popular in former times as a special way of preparing food and at the same time as "stockpiling" in which foods started to ferment and

/194 cont./

252 198 were then ultimately eaten or baked in this state, has almost completely fallen into oblivion. This may be attributed to the fact [177] [439] that today imported foods are available on all the islands of the Archipelago and that therefore stockpiling (for periods of shortage as a result of drought or storms) seems unnecessary. The fish that are caught are sometimes eaten /195/ raw, as in former times, (501)

501. See J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 197.

sometimes roasted in embers (ashes) or they are stewed, wrapped in banana leaves, in the earth-oven. (502)

[251] 502. Occasionally, they also preserve fish(for example, the 'ava on Nomuka), by cutting them open, cleaning them, salting them, hanging them up in the sun (with small sticks wedged into the fish to keep the two halves apart) or laying them out on platforms and then smoking them; octopus also often dried among the Ha'apai group.

Fish broth (with coconut milk) is still quite popular, as it was in ancient Tonga. (503)

503. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 161; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 285.

231 The natives generally slaughter pigs and chickens as in olden times by stunning them; (504)

504. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...VI. p. 228; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 282/283.

[177] larger pigs are shot. Nowadays they occasionally also slaughter animals according to the Jewish rites.

252 177 Among European foods, canned corned beef has gained special significance. They eat the meat either without any further preparation, or they heat the cans, but they also stew the corned beef in the earth-oven together with tubers by wrapping it in banana leaves and adding

/195 cont./

252 coconut milk; less frequently they fry it in a pan with onions (and
177 tomatoes). Rice, which is very popular but not always easily obtainable,
[439] apparently because of importing difficulties, is boiled in water with coconut milk and sugar added. Likewise, on the smaller islands, some natives know how to bake cakes in English fashion; they are made (only for special occasions) of flour, sugar, baking powder, creamed butter and bright yellow coloring. A few Tongan women also know how to make an English pudding with flour, shortening, sugar raisins and baking powder. Almost everywhere one finds the dumplings (topai) cooked in water and the very popular fried cakes (keke) that consist of a flour dough with baking powder and are fried in pans, usually with imported shortening. On only a few of the more important islands (Tongatapu, Vava'u, Lifuka) white bread is today baked by Tongans in simple, self-built ovens; this is so popular that the demand constantly exceeds the supply.

271 As beverages the Tongans use chiefly collected rainwater, as well
272 as the fruit water of young coconuts, as in the past, (505)

505. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 288; W. Ellis, An authentic narrative... I. p/ 97.

312 at any time during the day. The water supply of the natives has been
177 improved during the last decades, with cement tanks (506)

506. From imported cement, sand and coral stones.

replacing the ancient Tongan "water pits" (lepa), (507)

507. See E. W. Gifford, Tongan Society, p. 178.

being built by natives on their own initiative or by order of the government; /196/ these /tanks/ catch the rainwater running down from the corrugated metal roofs of private dwellings, schools, administra-
312 tive buildings and churches. In addition, the natives on many islands make an effort to dig pits which furnish more or less brackish water.

/196 cont./ Kava (510)

276 510. See p. 144 ff.
574 is drunk--as always--chiefly at social gatherings, on ceremonial occasions and before gala meals.

264 Most Tongans eat only two meals a day, as in the past. In the
[198] morning (between nine and eleven o'clock) they eat a rather large quantity of food, and in the afternoon (between 17 and 19 o'clock) they have a meal almost as large, at which they use any leftovers from the morning meal; the portions consumed by adults seem astonishingly large to Europeans. On Sundays they usually have an earth-oven meal after the second morning service, around 10 or 11 o'clock, /197/ the leftovers from which they often eat in the afternoon as their second meal. In the larger towns of Nuku'alofa, Neiafu and Pangai, however, [177] many families have gone over to the European example of having three [184] meals a day (between 8 - 9, 12 - 13, and 18 - 19 o'clock), the first of which is often a breakfast of white bread. Thus, out of 92 households investigated in the remote village of 'Uiha, 89 have two meals a day and only three have three meals, whereas in Pungamisi, the "suburb" of Neiafu, out of 37 households checked, 22 have two meals and 15 have three meals a day. The great distance of plantations from the [252] villages is, in some instances, the reason why the natives also have "bush meals" (511)

511. Food roasted in embers or stewed in the earth-oven.

at irregular hours if they feel the need for them during their plantation work.

264 Though spoons, forks, and knives are nowadays present in most
412 households, the Tongans as a rule still eat with their fingers, as in
[516] pre-European times. They sit cross-legged in front of the meals they have been served, tear off, press, or cut off (512)

512. With a machete or table knife instead of

/226 cont./

512 stroll down to the beach to hunt for seafood, or they start preparing a new supply of hair- and body-oil. An important task for them, [264] however, is the preparation of the afternoon meal of which the entire family partakes between 17 and 19 o'clock. Around this time the [515] husband has returned from his plantation (often with fruit he picked) and has washed himself thoroughly and put on clean clothes. The children have spent the afternoon helping or playing and are now mostly also washed, as is the wife. Around 19 o'clock, after the meal, it has grown dark. Most families gather in their houses for prayer. Thereafter, the children spend a little time at their schoolwork and soon lie down to sleep while the husband and wife sit by the light of kerosene lamps, chat and talk over the next day and then go to rest around 21 - 22 o'clock. Many men and youths have [574] /227/ meanwhile gathered in various houses of the village for their kava circles (589)

589. See p. 144ff.

which seem to a large extent to satisfy all their social aspirations and which last far into the night, sometimes even until dawn. In [794] [533] many villages natives of both sexes gather in the evenings to take part in the practice and rehearsals of the various church choirs.

Circumstances may vary this average daily routine. Thus, the weather (for example, humidity or dryness) may be the occasion for [796] various tasks (plantations) or may prevent them. Church services also induce natives to get up earlier on some days of the week and to start the day with church attendance, or to end, thus, the day's work in the afternoon. Moreover, communal projects such as house-building (not so much boat-building) and the making of tapa lengths and mats in the kautaha houses (590)

[252] 590. On the days of such communal projects by

/227 cont./

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(252) women, the husbands prepare earth-oven meals for their working wives.

may influence and change the customary daily routine of some families.
(592) The size of the family naturally plays a part in the daily routine, since kinfolk (men as well as women) living with the family can make tasks easier or take them over from the other members of the household.
512 461 However, the Tongan men and women are, of course, the determining factor in the daily routine; undoubtedly there is a certain need to work, but owing to the climate and the relatively rich resources of their homeland, work is not heavy enough to be burdensome so that, with Tongan equanimity, many a plan can be cheerfully postponed for days or weeks, and one can take a nap if one feels in the mood, or spend a forenoon or an afternoon at a game. (591)

591. On the other hand, it sometimes happens that during the hottest period of the day (around 13 or 14 o'clock) men will work on the plantations and women, for example, will gather food along the shore while the majority of villagers take a rest.

512 527 The daily routine as described applies only to the week days from Monday to Friday, for on Saturday preparations are made for Sunday: the men bring food for Sunday from the plantations (or from the sea), and the women are busy (besides their daily chores of preparing meals, taking care of the house, attending to the children) washing clothes and cleaning the grassy areas of their properties, which the men have cut short. The Sunday routine is, however, quite
(797) (461) different. As a result of the missionization of the Archipelago, chiefly carried on by the Wesleyans, there is strict observance of rest from work on this day. Early in the morning (usually around
(796) five o'clock) people attend the /228/ first church service followed, in the course of the day, by two or three further church attendances,

/228 cont./

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(592)

592. Children also attend Sunday school.

[796]
[794] in which most of the natives (of both sexes and all ages) take part. Chiefly in the morning (around eight o'clock) the men, with the help

[252]
[264] of their wives, prepare an earth-oven (593)

593. This work, of course, the men also performed during the week if their wives have not prepared food in a simple manner.

the contents of which, around ten or eleven o'clock, serve as the main [264] Sunday dinner, the leftovers of which they like to eat in the afternoon as a second meal. As for the rest of the day, they prefer to spend it

[574] sleeping and chatting and also paying visits; some Tongans read the
[212] bible for a long time (as they often do evenings during the rest of the
[571] week), and in every village men belonging to individual community groups
[264] gather for the gala meal of thanksgiving sponsored by the church (faka-afe).

512 The daily routine of the Tongans, like their division of labor, essentially does not change throughout the seasons. Not only the population in general, (594)

[463]
[461]

594. The daily schedule of Tongans who have special professions (for example, teachers, physicians, clerks, government employees) is, of course, determined by their work.

but also many nobles, in contrast to the past, spend their days in this manner, provided they do not hold an office that carries with it a special honor.

512 Thus the daily routine reflects the changes, the transformation of
177 Tongan culture: Included in the array of traditional tasks, duties
178 and leisure activities are new activities (595)
[527]

595. Copra-production; clothes washing; church duties; attendance at church services, prayers,

/296 cont./ canned goods have even been introduced into their ceremonial life. Food preparation shows many traditional features--as among the Tongans and perhaps even more so--along with certain innovations (for example iron cooking pots), and the typical method of eating with one's fingers has also been retained.--The conservative Samoans have probably not felt the need for further changes in their tried-and-true methods in areas relating to their means of subsistence, which, moreover, have not been influenced very much by Europeans and indeed would be difficult to change if only because of geographic conditions.

In both Archipelagos tobacco, a luxury imported by Europeans, has become quite important; the natives grow it themselves to a large extent and also buy it from shopkeepers.

/297/ As in Tonga, copra production in Samoa has become a very common occupation, and to this has been added cocoa-growing. However, here too these new activities have not brought about much change; there has been no profit- mania, and the old social system has proved strong enough to withstand these influences, for the matai take over the proceeds and use them on behalf of the entire family.

The typical women's handwork of tapa-making and plaiting lives on in Samoa--at least with respect to quality--as it does in Tonga. Division of labor according to sex has also scarcely changed on the Samoa Islands; however, in contrast to the development in the Tonga Archipelago, the social division of labor (titles-untitles) has still been largely upheld. The daily routine has remained basically the same in both island groups, and has been influenced only to a certain extent by new duties and tasks. Land and sea traffic has changed very much in Samoa, as in Tonga, but it is noteworthy that the Samoans build and use the simple outriggers (paopao) and in addition rather large numbers of the more complicated bonito-boats (va'aalo).

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15. Building an earth-oven

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16. Making copra: drying halved coconuts

[End Plate 8]